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# OHIO ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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## BUCYRUS CENTENNIAL

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The centennial of the city of Bucyrus, Ohio, was most appropriately celebrated in a program of exercises extending from October 2 to 5, 1921. There were addresses by Honorable Harry L. Davis, Governor of Ohio, Honorable Hugh L. Nichols, former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Ohio, Honorable Benson W. Hough, Judge of the Supreme Court, Mrs. Frank H. Alfred, great-granddaughter of Samuel Norton, one of the founders of Bucyrus, Nevin O. Winter, the well-known writer of Toledo, Ohio, Honorable Smith W. Bennett and other prominent citizens. The exercises throughout were interspersed with music selected especially for the occasion and this feature of the program culminated in a grand musical entertainment by the Bucyrus centennial chorus on Thursday evening, October 5. This was repeated on the following evening. An interesting feature of the musical program was the rendition of Colonel Kilbourne's *Bucyrus Song* by the centennial chorus. The words of this song are found on a subsequent page of the QUARTERLY.

The entire program of the centennial may be said to have reached its height of interest and enthusiasm in the remarkable pageant which was presented on Tues-



COLONEL JAMES KILBOURNE.



SAMUEL NORTON.



day afternoon. There were fifty-seven separate sections in the procession, representing various phases of pioneer life and prominent incidents in the eventful early history of Bucyrus and Crawford County. The first section represented the "Spirit of '76" and was contributed by the American Legion, which figured prominently through the entire celebration. There were many representations of Indians — Indians on the move, Indian squaws at work, Indian dances, Indians on ponies, Indian chiefs in council, etc. Colonel Crawford, of course, occupied a prominent place. There were sections representing his family, his cavalymen, his capture by the Indians and his tragic burning at the stake. Johnny Appleseed was appropriately remembered. Early farming implements were in evidence. The founders of the city, Samuel Norton and Colonel James Kilbourne, were honored in a number of floats. Different organizations of Bucyrus and the townships of Crawford County contributed sections of this wonderful pageant and the present generation had a rare opportunity to witness the past history of this region move by in pleasing variety and progressive succession.

A center of special interest throughout the celebration was the Public Library of Bucyrus, where a really wonderful display of relics and souvenirs representing the entire history of Crawford County was on exhibition. These were systematically arranged with appropriate labels. A continuous stream of people passed through the building and enjoyed the opportunity to visit this exhibit. The celebration did much not only to revive interest in the past but to arouse local pride in present achievement. A historical society has been organized as a result of this centennial celebration and

it is safe to say that the interest manifested by Bucyrus in the early October days of 1921 will be made to live continuously in this organization.

Credit for the success of the celebration is due to the splendid spirit of co-operation among the various committees and organizations, civic, fraternal and religious. Many compliments were extended to Honorable John E. Hopley, Chairman of the Executive Committee, and General Edward Volrath, Treasurer, who were especially active in planning the celebration and who presided over a number of its functions.



## A VISION FULFILLED

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BY MAUD BUSH ALFRED.

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“Where there is no vision, the people perish.”

When your committee honored me with a request for a place on the program of this celebration, which commemorates the founding of Bucyrus, I was filled with varying emotions, — pride, reverence, and perhaps, awe. Pride, that I, the great-granddaughter of Samuel Norton and Mary Bucklin Norton, could have the privilege of honoring their memory; reverence, that so hardy, so brave, so God-fearing, so kindly, so benevolent a forbear had been mine — reverence for the loved ones I have known, who lie in the beautiful silent city which adjoins you in this, the place which was “the forest primeval,” and now in the evolution and development of the years is your own thriving, progressive and growing city.

Should we not all indeed feel awe when we regard the progress of one hundred years? When Great-grandfather Norton and his wife and six children and small company of followers blazed the path from their home in northeastern Pennsylvania and selected this spot because of its beauty, its richness of soil, and its promise, they found only the red man and prowling animals of the forest, and, seemingly, all that lay ahead was toil and hardship and deprivation. But — they had a vision. Theirs was the spirit which had won for us our independence from the yoke of England.

It was the father of great-grandmother Bucklin Norton who caught the dying General Warren when he fell at Bunker Hill, and General Warren, together with Israel Putnam and Nathaniel Green, belonged to this family of sturdy manhood.

The first of our forbears in the Norton line came from Scotland, settling in Connecticut in 1675, so it would seem that the spirit of conquest and the will to overcome, had descended in large measure to these, the first settlers. It is an interesting bit of history that the battle of Saratoga was fought on and nearby my great-great-grandfather, James Norton's farm.

And so it was, that undaunted courage and the I WILL of all, opened the little clearing and made the first home in what is now Bucyrus.

Over mountain and valley, through tangled forest and grass-grown plain, over corduroy roads and Indian trail, fording streams, and through storm and sunshine, this little caravan came from the comparative security and comfort of their eastern home, to this, a wilderness of unknown dangers.

It is related of great-grandfather by one who knew him, that "he was a large athletic man, six feet tall, of strong determination, keen intelligence and full of the true spirit of enterprise."

There are many family traditions that from childhood I have heard, but it is not the personal touch upon which I wish to dwell, but the *spirit* which has given us what we have.

Can we appreciate, in even a slight degree, the lives of our pioneer women? Brave, capable, resourceful, undaunted by the hardships which they must bear; full too of the love of the beautiful, prizing knowledge, yet

cut off from the culture which they craved for themselves and their children. Surely — they needs *must* have had a vision.

As a little girl it was a great delight to me to hear my own grandmother and my mother relate stories of their childhood — grandmother, who was Catharine Norton, telling of the earlier days when all was new. She was four years old when the long journey from Pennsylvania was made. In the company, besides great-grandfather and great-grandmother, were their children — Louisa, who became Mrs. Harris Garton, Catharine, who became Mrs. John Shull, Elizabeth who married Dr. Alonzo Jones, and three sons, Rensselaer, Warren and Waldo. Then there were great-grandmother's brother, Albigeance Bucklin and six children and an adopted daughter. A man by the name of Seth Holmes came with them, as driver and guide, he having been through this section in 1812. So, in all, there were eighteen. The first night was spent in a deserted Indian Wigwam which stood where the Court House now is. There they spent three days until a small log house could be erected. It was located on the west side of the present Sandusky Avenue bridge. When this home was completed, one was built for Mr. Bucklin and his family, which stood about where the old Bucyrus Machine shops now are. Mr. Holmes, being a bachelor, was left the Wigwam. In these shelters the first winter was passed in fair comfort.

On February 11th, my great aunt, Sophronia Norton, was born — the first white child born in Crawford county.

Among the necessary possessions brought from the east was a spinning wheel with which both wool and



flax was spun, and a loom upon which was woven bed linen and counterpanes, and the cloth with which the family clothing was made. I have now, pieces of linen bleached beautifully white which Great-grandmother spun and wove and made into sheets, and also a blue and white counterpane is still doing duty as a cover on an old-fashioned settee in my country home—a prized possession.

The bleaching was accomplished by laying the newly woven linen on the grass in the strong sunlight, and it was the duty of some one of the little girls to keep it constantly wet by dipping water and sprinkling over the entire surface.

The sampler, which my grandmother worked with her childish fingers, was a work of art to me, and my interest in the days when she was a little girl and must do her “stint” before she could go out to play, held a fascination for me which the years have not dulled.

The family also brought with them from their eastern home, several horses, some cattle, and a few pigs and chickens,—also such farming implements as were used in those days. Their supply of household articles was fairly complete and with the flax which they grew and the wool which they purchased from settlers some forty miles away, and the deer which great-grandfather killed, they were supplied with material abundant for their clothing.

The men’s outer garments were made from deer skins and mother and daughters were the tailors and dressmakers.

Great-grandfather started a little tannery for his own use with which to tan enough leather for the family

shoes. A shoe-maker came twice yearly and made two pairs for each member of the family.

Great-grandfather was always most generous and kindly indulgent with his family, and whenever a load of grain was taken to the frontier towns, he returned with something pretty in the way of apparel for each one.

The small first tannery of great-grandfather's was later converted into a real tannery by Lewis Cary, who conducted the business for many years after. It was his brother Abel, who, coming in 1821, built a small dam on the south bank of the Sandusky and erected a grist mill. This was a boon to the little settlement for it meant that the long journey to Fredericksburg, which many times had to be taken with one horse, and even on foot, was a thing of the past, and the grain could be ground at home.

The Cary tannery was the first business enterprise in Bucyrus — the Cary mill, the second.

Great-grandfather was an unerring shot and it is related that back in Pennsylvania he one time shot a panther measuring more than eleven feet. Wolves filled the woods and often their howling made night hideous around the little cabins. It was long before any settler could raise sheep because of these cowardly beasts, which always came in packs. At one time great-grandfather purchased forty head of sheep but in spite of vigilance, they were soon all devoured.

A deer lick was quite near his first cabin home on the Sandusky and sometimes he could stand in his door and bring down his game without the trouble of hunting for it. In one day, near Mr. Bucklin's cabin, he killed five deer — so it will be seen that, with venison, wild

turkeys, squirrels and rabbits, and fish in the streams, honey which was gathered from the wild bee-hives in the trees of the forest, maple sugar, and potatoes grown in the little clearing, cranberries from the marsh not far distant, our first families could scarcely go hungry. Bread, however, became a luxury sometimes when the meal gave out and the Indian trail to Fredericksburg was impassable for man or beast; then it was that a hand mill, brought with them from the east, was used, — a crude sort of coffee mill, which held no more than a half pint of grain.

Frequently when the household meal was low, the winter evening was spent in grinding, and grating on an improvised grater, or pounding in a mortar, the supply of meal for the next day's use.

Corn, prepared in various ways, was the staple grain, while wheat bread was a luxury indeed.

Hominy, corn pone, Johnny cake, corn dodgers, and boiled mush gave a good variety, even though the original ingredient was the same. Corn pone was made in a covered pan or oven, Johnny cake was baked on a board in front of the fire, and corn dodgers made into balls and cooked.

In my own grandmother's last illness, her mind often went back to the early days, and she lived over again the times when youth was a tonic and gave zest to all things. I well remember her saying, with longing in her voice, "Oh! how I would love to have some Johnny cake baked on a board before the fire in the old fireplace."

But the old fireplace was gone, and onward progress had given us stoves and furnaces and gas, and many



comforts she had not known, yet the memory was sweet.

Were there not many things to compensate for those deprivations of the early times? The family life knit together, not only by love, but by a common interest, the closeness of the friendships, the simplicity, the kindness, engendered because of their dependence upon one another, the necessity which *was* the mother of invention, the nearness to nature, all, — all have left their imprint, and are we not, who are here tonight, the better for it?

Theirs *was* a vision!

The winter of 1819-20 was a mild one, which enabled the two families to progress with their clearing and get the ground in readiness for the first planting. Great-grandfather had said that he never raised a better crop than that grown the first year in the rich virgin soil.

The first little cabin ere long gave way to a larger and better constructed home — still a cabin, made of logs. A “raising,” which was a social, as well as a utility function — now with many hands to help — soon brought the new home to completion.

It was the most palatial home in all the country, with two rooms down stairs, two windows instead of one, and covered with cloth instead of oil paper, for glass could not be had. A spacious loft overhead was reached by a ladder on the wall. Here the older children slept, while the little ones down stairs were tucked away in the trundle bed, which, at night, was pulled out from under the great “four poster”.

Years after, my great aunt, Louisa Norton Garton, still had one of these beds, all curtained about and re-

quiring steps to climb up into its billowy depth of feathers — how well I remember the novelty of this experience when my mother and I, a little child, visited her.

In all cabins, herbs were hung from the rafters to dry, and were used for tea and concocting various remedies — for the new settler must be his own doctor.

In 1822, great-grandfather went back to New York State and brought home with him, great-grandmother's mother, Elizabeth Bucklin. She had a scientific knowledge of medicine, which she had practiced in Rhode Island, so she was of great help and comfort to the little community and many were her errands of mercy! She died here in 1824.

"Chills and fever" was the scourge of the pioneers, and seemed to be a necessary evil, and was suffered by even the third and fourth generation.

The early cabin homes were, of necessity, very crude in construction. What was true of one was true of all. The expression, which is very familiar, "The latch string is always out", had its origin in the fastenings of the doors of these first homes. A wooden bolt inside the cabin fitted into a groove, this bolt could be raised from the outside by means of a latch string of deer hide, which ran through a little hole above the bolt and hung outside. When one wished to lock the door from within, all that was necessary was to pull the string through.

The cabins were completed without nails or screws or metal of any kind; leather from the skins of wild animals was used for hinges, and the chimneys made of stones, plastered with mud, which had to be renewed from time to time as it dried out and became dislodged, and the logs themselves were the only building materials.

The floors were made of split logs and smoothed as well as possible with an axe. They were kept clean by scouring with sand and rushes, until finally they became quite smooth and white.

In picturing these early days, that which always fascinates me is the fireplace, around which so much of the family life was lived. In the preparation of the meals and in the family pleasures, this was the gathering place — the abiding place of the household gods.

The singing kettle, hanging from the crane, the wild turkey hanging from the spit, filling the room with its savory odors, the potatoes roasting in the ashes, and the corn pone baking in the covered bake pan (which must always be kept covered with the hot ashes!) the apples placed in a row and sputtering and popping as their juices burst their rosy skins in the heat, — and then again, on long winter evenings, while the mother and older daughters plied their needles by candle-light, or knit, or spun, or wove, or pieced patches together for quilts, which later would be quilted at another social function, the “quilting bee”, the younger ones made merry with popping corn, cracking nuts, melting the maple sugar, and running with it to the snow outside, returning with strings of waxy sweetness; all this, grandmother and my own mother have made vivid in my mind. Sometimes there were no candles and then the hearth fire was the only light.

The fireplaces were always large, sometimes burning logs six and seven feet long, which had to be pulled into the cabins by a horse. The great back log would sometimes keep fire for a week. It was something of an annoyance to have the fire go out for then flint and tinder must be resorted to, to re-kindle the blaze. Sometimes

coals were carried from a neighbors to coax back the reluctant fire, for matches were unknown. Wonderful hardwood logs were burned in a seemingly reckless way, but this meant that the little clearing was extending and that progress was ever onward.

Aunt Elizabeth Norton Jones has told how mince pies were baked literally by the wholesale, each being wrapped in muslin and packed down in barrels, to keep through the winter. They were allowed to freeze and were thought to be improved by this process. The baking at this time had advanced to an oven built of stones just outside the cabin door and, later still, a step in advance, was an oven built at the side of the fireplace itself.

The water from the well was lifted in "the old oaken bucket" of song and story, and brought to the surface by a well sweep. The well sometimes served as a refrigerator also, as butter and milk were frequently lowered to its cooling depths until required by the family.

In 1831, great-grandfather built the brick building which is now the Zeigler Mills, the outer walls are as they were originally, which certainly testifies to the durability of construction, when we consider that the machinery of the mills have vibrated within its walls for so many years.

Here he spent the remainder of his life — living for twenty-five years in the comfort and security of this new home, so near the site of the first crude cabin, amid the surroundings he loved so well.

Here, for some time, he kept what was then called a "tavern", but as great-grandfather did not enjoy this new venture, it was discontinued after a few years.

Col. James Kilbourne, who made the survey of Bu-

cyrus, was a warm personal friend of great-grandfather's and was a frequent guest in his home, where with poetry, of which he was very fond, and story and song, he enlivened many a long winter evening.

General Harrison stopped with great-grandfather in 1840 and was given a large reception. It was doubtless on such an important occasion that great-grandmother's housewifely skill was brought into play and being her own cateress, she constructed a wonderful pound cake, for which she was noted, building it in layers, tier on tier to the pyramid top, which was baked in a tea cup, and all was iced over into a thing of beauty.

Then to add variety and spice, when the candles were made a *very small* amount of powder was placed in the lower end of the wick so that as the candle burned down, there was a startling little flash, which amused the guests.

It is recorded that in 1838, Nicholas Longworth, the wealthy merchant from Cincinnati, and grandfather of Congressman Longworth, stopped with great-grandfather. He remarked upon the beauty of the river and the surroundings and said, "What a pretty site for a town". "Yes" said great-grandfather slowly, and with a sigh, "yes, but it spoiled a good farm".

Many a weary traveler of high and low estate, could testify to the warm-hearted hospitality of that home, where in those days, neighborhoods meant counties.

Great-grandfather and great-grandmother were Baptists and as there was no church, preaching was held in their home.

In the later days when the more rigorous times were passed and my great-grandparents were living in the new brick home, my mother was born — Letta Merri-



man Shull — the eldest daughter of Catherine Norton Shull and John Shull. This was the year 1834.

She has told me of the happy days when she and the numerous cousins, grandchildren all, of Samuel and Mary Norton, would visit them in their, — what seemed to the children — palatial home. Hide and seek through the rooms of the big house, and frolic and pranks were the order, and this, at a time when children were supposed to be seen, not heard. One time a fine hiding place was found for my small mother inside the big "grandfather's clock". It is not recorded whether the clock ticked on, but the memory of these days was a joy even to the end, when "she wrapped about her the drapery of her couch and lay down to pleasant dreams."

The children born to Samuel and Mary Norton, after their arrival in Bucyrus, were — Sophronia, Harris Putnam, Charles, Jefferson, and William. They were the parents of twelve children, and their descendants are scattered far and wide. The only members of the second generation of this large family, now calling Bucyrus home, are Mr. Fernando Norton and Mrs. Mary Jones Lemert.

There are several of the streets of Bucyrus named for the children of great-grandfather, — Rensselaer, Warren and Charles St., Perry St. for the first grandson (Aunt Louisa Garton's oldest son) and Mary St. for great-grandmother. Great-grandfather's modesty did not permit his own name to be so used.

Receiving mail was an event of great importance in the little community, and whether a long looked for letter was brought, or only news from the outside world, the advent of the messenger with mail was a stirring event. Letter postage was twenty-five cents. In 1822,

anyone who would travel to Delaware was the official postman. He could go by Indian trail, on horse-back in the summer, but in winter the journey could only be made on foot.

Right here I must tell you that the fame of Bucyrus rests not alone on its beauty of situation. Its fame has gone abroad! Some years ago while living in Montreal, I was talking with a friend, a Virginian. In some way conversation drifted to our ancestral homes. I spoke of Bucyrus, Ohio, upon which he immediately rejoined, "Oh, I know Bucyrus — I never in all my travels saw such mud".

In 1824 the first official postoffice was established with Lewis Cary as postmaster, in which capacity he served for five years. During this period the office appeared on the official records at Washington as "Bucyrus, alias Busiris". The name "Bucyrus", as doubtless many of you know, was given by Col. Kilbourne, but the origin of the name is a disputed point; our family, who knew Col. Kilbourne well, being very sure that the first syllable of "beautiful" and the name "Cyrus" were combined; Col. Kilbourne being a great admirer of the historic Persian General Cyrus; Mr. Franklin Adams, also a personal friend of Col. Kilbourne, being equally sure that the name was taken from Busiris, a city of ancient Egypt and also a name given the old Egyptian Kings.

Great-grandfather did not at first favor the idea suggested by Col. Kilbourne for laying out his farm into lots, but later, when persuaded to do so, he entered into a partnership with Col. Kilbourne and together they platted and planned the town.

In 1830, when Bucyrus became the county seat of Crawford County, Col. Kilbourne donated the lot for

the court house, which is the present site. Lots for a school house and jail were donated by great-grandfather, and in addition, he agreed to give one-third of the proceeds of all lots sold by him, toward the erection of public buildings.

In 1821, Zalman Rowse came from Massachussetts and at once entered prominently into the active life of the village, occupying many important offices, and was identified with every enterprise for the forward movement of Bucyrus.

Of his children, William Rowse married Catharine Finn, whom he had met when she came from Pennsylvania to visit her mother's brother, Samuel Norton.

The first pipe organ brought to Bucyrus was made by Erasmus West of Lakeville, N. Y., who had married great-grandmother's sister. He traded the organ for land, great-grandfather purchasing it for his children. Many years after, Jefferson Norton sold it to the Bucyrus Catholic Church.

The family all enjoyed music, and several were thought to be good singers. Jefferson played the organ and Charles the violin.

The older children of the family had little opportunity for educational instruction outside the home, where father and mother were the teachers, yet their knowledge of history and geography would equal that of the fortunate youth of today, while their ability in mathematics was marked.

Learning to read from the stilted matter in the readers of those times could scarcely be the pleasure that the modern student finds in the choice selections from the classics and poets which are embodied in the readers of today.



The spelling bee was an exciting amusement and another popular form of entertainment was for the young people to sit in a circle around the fireplace with a spokesman in the center, who would call without warning upon first one and then another for a story. This would often result in very bright, witty and interesting entertainment.

My grandmother kept a diary from her young girlhood until the last years of her life. How I have wished that I might have access to its pages at this time. So, while educational advantages were lacking, knowledge was prized, and sought, and — won.

My great aunt, Elizabeth Norton Jones — Mrs. Lemert's mother — attended school at Granville when a girl, and here, doubtless, away from the family roof-tree, got a taste for secular literature, which was not allowed at home. She has told how lying on the floor in front of the fire-place and reading by its light, she read such books as *Thaddeus of Warsaw*, *Children of the Abbey*, *Scottish Chiefs*, etc. This was literature far too exciting for a well-bred young woman to indulge in, and so it was done by stealth — *but it was done!*

The candles which supplied the light, were made by dipping wicks in tallow and hanging up to dry — later a form was used and I remember seeing one of these when quite a little girl and exclaiming to my mother, "Oh what a cute little radiator."

The Indians at this time were all friendly, though they took keen delight in frightening the children when they came upon them in their play in the woods about the cabins. They were not always welcome guests but had to be endured and many times were permitted to sleep on the floor in front of the fire, wrapped up in their

blankets. They would frequently come in unannounced and would leave as quietly. They brought maple sugar and cranberries and traded them for calico and tobacco, or anything the settler had that took their fancy. There was little currency among the settlers and a system of barter was more often used than money.

When my great-aunt Sophronia Norton was born, the event was of much interest to the Indians, who evinced a great deal of curiosity about the little pale face.

They came many times later 'on and tried to prevail upon great-grandmother to sell her.

I can imagine that this could scarcely have caused a feeling of security with great-grandmother, for it was not infrequent that children were stolen by the Indians, and many times were never heard of again.

One of the very interesting characters who preceeded the pioneer, was "Johnny Appleseed", about whom much has been written. He had planted an orchard not far from great-grandfather's first cabin and it bore fruit in the early years after their arrival. Great-grandfather had brought his own seeds when he came and had planted his own orchard; but many of Johnnie's trees were standing after great-grandfather's were all dead. All of my mother's family were fond of Johnnie, who was gentleness, uprightness, and honor itself, though very uncouth in appearance, caring not at all about his clothes. Often his feet were bare, even in winter, and his clothes ragged and pieced together, but he was always shaven and clean.

I would that the spirit of construction which Johnny possessed could be abroad in the rural districts today, and that our present day farmers would plant more

trees, — trees to shade the highways and beautify the landscape.

In the district with which I am familiar, this kind of construction is sadly lacking, and the tendency seems to be to tear down, rather than to build up, and everything possible is commercialized and apparently no thought is given to those who will come after to reap the benefit of that sown today.

Among my mother's papers, I found a clipping cut from the Bucyrus Journal, which I will read in part, as a tribute paid to great-grandfather, by those who knew him:

"Died — On the 18th of April, 1856, at his residence, Mr. Samuel Norton, aged 76 years.

The death of Mr. Norton has left a vacancy among our citizens, as well as in his family, which cannot be filled.

Being the first settler, he was justly entitled to the name of the "Father of Bucyrus".

For fifty years he has been an exemplary member of the Baptist Church and through all the vicissitudes of his pioneer life, his spirits were kept buoyant by the hope of a future reward in the mansions of eternal glory.

A large concourse of our citizens attended his funeral and all express their respect for this much esteemed citizen and sympathy for his afflicted relatives."

Great-grandmother survived him but three years, dying in April 1859, and was laid to rest beside her companion of fifty-two years of married life.

*Theirs was a vision fulfilled.*

"May we join the choir invisible of those immortal dead who live again in minds made better by their presence".

## COLONEL JAMES KILBOURNE

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BY C. B. GALBREATH

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Colonel James Kilbourne, one of the founders of Bucyrus, was a prominent pioneer of Ohio. He was born at New Britain, Connecticut, October 19, 1770. He was descended from an ancient Scottish family, but his ancestors for many years had lived in England before emigrating to America. His father, who was a farmer, encouraged his son to make his home with Mr. Griswold, the father of Bishop Griswold, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in order that he might study Greek, Latin and other of the higher branches of learning. He must have devoted some attention to applied mathematics and theology, as he afterwards became an expert surveyor and was ordained to the ministry. While pursuing his studies, he spent his evenings in the establishment of a clothier and thus acquired a practical business education that had much to do with enterprises undertaken by him in subsequent years.

At the age of nineteen years, he married Miss Lucy Fitch, daughter of John Fitch, the builder of the first steam boat — a model of the engine of which, through the interest of Colonel Kilbourne's descendants, is now in the possession of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. After the death of his first wife he married Cynthia, the sister of Dr. Lincoln Goodall.

At the age of thirty his attention was attracted to the opportunities afforded by emigration to what was then the far West. He became active in the organiza-

tion of emigrant companies and was planning a settlement in the Northwest Territory as soon as it should be determined that the state of Ohio, recently formed, should be admitted into the Union without slavery. At the head of the Scioto Company of forty members, he set out for Worthington, the site of which he had chosen the previous year. He made the journey by way of Pittsburgh, where he purchased "mill-stones, iron and other supplies which he sent down the Ohio to the mouth of the Scioto River," from which point they were afterwards transported by boat to their destination. He himself proceeded overland with a blacksmith, a millwright and a few laborers to the site of his purchase on the Scioto. By the end of the year the new settlement had grown to one hundred persons.

A church was at once organized with Colonel Kilbourne as rector. He entered upon his ministerial duties with enthusiasm, serving not only the little congregation at Worthington, but preaching in other settlements and laying the foundations of what afterwards became permanent church organizations. In 1804 he retired from the ministry, but for many years afterward delivered occasional sermons.

In 1804 he became a captain of the frontier militia. The following year he surveyed the southern shore of Lake Erie from Erie County to the Maumee Rapids and laid out the town of Sandusky, believing that it would become the great port on the southern border of the Lake.

He continued his activity in the organization of other companies for settlement in Ohio. From Granville, Massachusetts, he brought the colony which settled at Granville, Ohio.



He was, in 1806, made trustee of the Ohio University at Athens. His interest in the educational and moral progress of the communities that he did so much to found was further recognized by his election, in 1807, to the presidency of St. James Episcopal Church and Worthington Academy, both of Worthington, and his appointment in the year following as one of the commissioners to select a site for Miami University.

He was appointed United States government surveyor of public lands in 1805, a position which he held nine years. In 1812 he was appointed by President Madison as one of the three commissioners to establish the boundary line between the Virginia Northwestern Reservation and the United States public lands. He was later elected a member of Congress and, after serving a term of two years, was re-elected. He subsequently served two terms in the General Assembly of Ohio, one in 1824 and the other fourteen years later.

He was famous as a surveyor in the early history of the state. It is said that he surveyed and laid out fourteen town sites in Ohio. It is rather remarkable that none of the biographies that have come to our attention, with the exception of the one published in the *History of Crawford County*, makes prominent mention of him as one of the founders of Bucyrus.

At the outbreak of the War of 1812, yielding to the urgent request of the United States government, he undertook to manufacture clothing to supply the Western Army. He reminded the President of the United States, cabinet officers, members of Congress and others who urged him to venture upon this enterprise that men who had undertaken to supply the soldiers in the Revolution by similar investments of capital

were ruined in the undertaking, because of the failure of the government to keep its promises. He was assured that the result of his effort would be very different and that the government would continue a high protective tariff on his manufactured goods after the close of the war. According to his own statement, he invested \$10,000 and incurred additional liabilities amounting to more than \$57,000. The result of his venture is thus recorded in his own language:

"Peace came in 1815—no protection to woolens until 1824-5. I sustained the whole concern, as did Mr. Wells at Steubenville, amid enormous losses by those who owed us and otherwise, until 1820, when all hope from government failing, Steubenville and Worthington factories were crushed; and your friend at fifty years of age, with a family of eight daughters and four sons, half of them still small and unprovided for, was stripped of the last cent he had accumulated, with tremendous sacrifices, by the vigorous coercion of creditors."

While Colonel Kilbourne lost his fortune in the manufacturing business, he did not despair. In his effort to accumulate a competence for advancing age, in his fifty-first year he selected the site of the city of Bucyrus and urged Samuel Norton to join him in laying out the new town to which he gave the name whose origin, even to this day, has puzzled the etymologist and historian.

The articles of agreement between Colonel Kilbourne and Samuel Norton for laying out the town of Bucyrus bear date of October 4, 1821. They are published in full in the *History of Crawford County*, 1881; in the very satisfactory chapter on Bucyrus, contributed by Thomas P. Hopley. These articles of agreement, with supplements bearing date of December 15, 1821, and February 12, 1822, describe briefly but clearly the

extent of the town and the obligations of the founders. Incidentally they show that sometime between October 6 and December 15, 1821, the town acquired the name of Bucyrus.

Colonel Kilbourne was a man of varied accomplishments for his day. He was soldier, minister, educator, congressman and, we are told, a musician whose songs delighted companions and audiences. Someone has said, half in jest, half in earnest: "Poetry is lies; and it follows that poets are liars." We have ample evidence that Colonel Kilbourne was something of a poet, but the famous poem with which he celebrated Bucyrus, its advantages and prospects, cannot be thus criticised. Following is the text of the poem:

#### BUCYRUS SONG

Ye men of spirit, ardent souls,  
Whose hearts are firm and hands are strong,  
Whom generous enterprise controls,  
Attend! and truth shall guide my song.  
I'll tell you how Bucyrus, now  
Just rising, like the star of morn,  
Surrounded stands by fertile lands,  
On clear Sandusky's rural bourn.

In these wide regions, known to fame,  
Which freedom proudly calls her own;  
Where free-born men the heathen tame,  
And spurning kings — despise a throne.  
No lands more blest, in all the West,  
Are seen whichever way you turn,  
Than those around Bucyrus, found  
On clear Sandusky's rural bourn.

The river valley, rich and green,  
Far as the power of sight extends,  
Presents a splendid rural scene,  
Which not the distant landscape ends.



The bordering plain spreads like the main,  
Where native fruits its sides adorn,  
And nearly join the margin line  
Along Sandusky's rural bourn.

First, Norton and the Beadles came,  
With friends (an enterprising band) ;  
Young and McMichael, men of fame,  
Soon joined the others, hand in hand ;  
By various plans t' improve the lands,  
They early rise with every morn,  
Near where the town Bucyrus sands,  
All on Sandusky's rural bourn.

There teams of oxen move with pride,  
Obedient to their driver's word ;  
There the strong yeomen firmly guide  
The ploughs which cleave and turn the sward,  
The dales around, with herds abound,  
The fields luxuriant are with corn,  
Near where the town Bucyrus stands,  
All on Sandusky's rural bourn.

Rich meadows there, extending far,  
By nature for the scythe prepared,  
And boundless pasture everywhere,  
Is free for all and ev'ry herd.  
The deep'ning mold, some hundred fold,  
Rewards with flax and wheat and corn,  
Those who with toil excite the soil,  
Along Sandusky's rural bourn.

In seasons mild their forests wild,  
Through hills and valleys widely spread,  
The streamlets glide from ev'ry side,  
Concent'ring to their common bed ;  
Thence, fed by springs which nature brings,  
O'erhung by plum-tree, elm and thorn,  
Winds on the stream, with dazzling gleam,  
Along Sandusky's rural bourn.

When gath'ring vapors dim the sky,  
And clouds condensed, their treasures pour ;  
When show'rs descend, and lightnings rend  
The heavens above, and thunders roar ;

When growing rills the valley fills;  
When gentle brooks to rivers turn;  
Then moves with pride, the swelling tide,  
Along Sandusky's rural bourn.

There youths and maids along the glades,  
Are often seen in walks around,  
Where flowers in prime, in vernal time,  
And where, in Autumn, fruits are found,  
With manly face, with dimpling grace,  
Give, and receive kind words in turn —  
In roseate bowers, where fragrant flowers,  
O'erspread Sandusky's rural bourn.

Then, here, my friend, your search may end,  
For here's a country to your mind,  
And here's a town your hopes may crown,  
As those who try it soon shall find.  
Here fountains flow, mild zephyrs blow,  
While health and pleasure smile each morn  
For all, around Bucyrus found,  
On fair Sandusky's rural bourn.

Colonel Kilbourne knew how to make his poetry subserve practical business purposes. When he had platted the town and offered the lots for sale at public auction he read this song. Some say he sang it, which is more than probable. The poem is a complete refutation of the charge that all poets are prevaricators; for whatever else may be said of the old ballad, it does include much truthful description of Bucyrus and the surrounding country. After the rendition of the song, we are told, the sale of lots was lively. Here we certainly have a unique instance of the use of poetry in the promotion of real estate enterprise.

Colonel Kilbourne's relation to the founding of Bucyrus was an altogether fortunate and happy one. No disagreements are reported between him and his partner, Samuel Norton. His business transactions

were honorable and satisfactory in every way, and he managed, partly through this enterprise, to regain a modest fortune. While he did not make his permanent home in the new town, he was a frequent visitor there while he lived and was always greeted with manifestations of appreciation.

Many of Colonel Kilbourne's descendants are living in Ohio, and through the past century they have fully sustained the high reputation of this pioneer ancestor. They have attained prominence in civic and industrial affairs and in all our wars have followed the flag of the Republic.

Perhaps the most prominently known of his descendants was his grandson and namesake, Colonel James Kilbourne, a graduate from Kenyon College, who served with distinction through the Civil War, afterward graduating from the law school of Harvard University and later founding the Kilbourne and Jacobs Manufacturing Company, one of the largest concerns of its kind in the entire country and at present one of the chief industrial establishments of our capital city. Since his death his son, James R. Kilbourne, has directed the affairs of this company.

Colonel Kilbourne, the founder of Worthington and joint founder of Bucyrus, when he reached manhood's estate became an ardent Whig and was identified with that party until the time of his death. In 1840, at Columbus, he presided over the famous Whig convention which nominated William Henry Harrison for the presidency.

Colonel Kilbourne had hoped that Worthington might be chosen as the seat of government for Ohio. He worked industriously to accomplish this desire but

was disappointed, the Legislature deciding by a single vote in favor of Columbus. He was also disappointed, as we have seen, in the failure of the government to extend to his manufacturing interests the protection that had been assured him when, at great sacrifice he manufactured clothing for the Western Army in the War of 1812. These disappointments, however, did not chill the fervor of his attachment to the state and nation. In spite of financial reverses he regained a respectable fortune, lived to see a number of the towns that he had platted develop with the growth of the state and died full of honors and respected by all who knew him, April 9, 1850.



## WHAT WE OWE TO THE PAST

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BY NEVIN O. WINTER.

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The student of history is generally attracted by events which occurred at some remote place. It is another illustration of distance lending enchantment. In Europe I have seen Americans tramping over the scenes of battles which had no significance in the world's history. They were simply scenes of conflicts between rival factions in local disturbances. Some of these same Americans have passed by battlefields near their own homes, without pausing for a moment to visualize what these conflicts meant in American history. For the same reason the American traveler is lured to foreign lands in search of scenic beauty, when more beautiful panoramas can be found within a short journey of his own habitation.

It is not necessary for a resident of Northwest Ohio to journey to distant fields in search of places of absorbing historical interest. Within the twenty counties of this section of our great commonwealth occurred battles between red man and white, and between rival white races, which have left their permanent impress upon American history in the western march of the empire. There is scarcely a foot of the bank of the Sandusky or the Maumee river which is not pregnant with virile history. At Fort Stephenson there was displayed a spirit which savors of that heroism shown by the Greeks at Thermopylæ. The Girty brothers contributed the vil-



lains, the ingrates, whose presence seems as necessary to make the drama complete as the heroes, who, in this instance, include General Anthony Wayne, General William Henry Harrison, Captain Croghan, Commodore Perry and many others.

The Northwestern Territory was the first experiment by the new United States in expansion. Heretofore the Americans had made little effort to subdue the wilderness beyond the Alleghenies. The Northwestern Territory offered a new and inviting problem, but before this vast and fertile tract could be utilized it was necessary to conquer the original occupants of the soil. The collision naturally came in Ohio, which was then the frontier region, and the fiercest contacts between the reds and whites took place in Northwest Ohio. Here it was that the French and English contended for the mastery of this region. Here it was that the oncoming Americans waged their battles for supremacy with the British, and here it was that they were compelled to subdue the red men.

Northwest Ohio has produced many great men. It has furnished a Justice of the Supreme Court and two Presidents, including the present chief executive, of whom we are proud, and many other men who contributed to our country's welfare. But the red men also produced some outstanding leaders in this same region, who ranked high in savage history. It was in Sandusky County that Chief Nicholas of the Wyandotte tribe lived, and he was the brains of the movement which had for its purpose to drive the French from the western country. The greatest Indian chief of which we have knowledge was Pontiac, who engineered that remarkable movement known as Pontiac's conspiracy, which



aimed to break the British power. Pontiac was born and lived the greater part of his life near Defiance. Although Tecumseh was not born within Northwestern Ohio, yet the larger part of his activities in opposing the march of the whites into the hunting-grounds of his ancestors occurred in this same region.

History becomes vivid to the imaginative mind when one considers the truly remarkable events that have occurred in Northwestern Ohio. Here at Bucyrus we are on or near the ground over which Colonel Crawford and his Pennsylvania Volunteers traveled on their way to meet the Wyandottes. They were full of hope as they journeyed westward, but it was a sadder, a wiser and a less numerous force that retreated over this same ground a few days later.

Ohio had long been the stronghold of the savages, since the woods and streams abounded in game which furnished sustenance. Their numbers were augmented by the broken tribes which were compelled to move westward. President Washington realized that this power of the savages must be broken, and he decided to take decisive measures leading to this end. He entrusted the first expedition to General Harmar. This officer started from Cincinnati and proceeded toward what is now Fort Wayne. It was there that he met a disastrous defeat. In his forward march and his return also he passed through portions of Northwest Ohio. The second expedition was placed in the hands of General St. Clair, a personal friend of the President, with the specific instructions to avoid every possibility of ambuscade. The result of this expedition was the bloody encounter in Mercer county, which was followed by the horrible butchery of hundreds of his troops.

They had been outwitted by the savages, even after the definite warning of his superior. This encounter at Fort Recovery is one of the most horrible savage reprisals that American history records.

President Washington realized that the savage power must be broken or the Northwestern Territory, rich as it might be in natural resources, would be useless to the new republic. He decided upon General Anthony Wayne to head the third expedition. In this instance he had selected the proper man. General Wayne left nothing to chance. He carefully surveyed the situation and prepared himself for every possibility. In easy marches he proceeded from near Cincinnati northward to the Auglaize River. He then followed this stream to Defiance and, after complete preparations, followed the Maumee toward its mouth. Between Maumee and Waterville he encountered the savages in a hollow where the timber had been destroyed by a hurricane. Here the savages had prepared to meet the white soldiers, and the Battle of Fallen Timbers followed. The result was an overwhelming defeat for the Indians. It forever broke their power and made them willing to enter into the Greenville Treaty in the following year. It was probably the most decisive defeat that the Indians ever experienced. It made possible the oncoming of thousands of white pioneers into the western country, many of whom settled in Northwest Ohio along the Sandusky and Maumee Rivers within the next few years.

During the War of 1812 Northwest Ohio was the scene of the most significant events that occurred in the western country. It was here that the Americans clashed with the British and their savage allies in a series of conflicts. General Harrison, Commodore

Perry and George Croghan are the outstanding figures in these impacts. The heroism of these commanders and their followers equals that exhibited in any incidents in American history. Warned by the disastrous experiences of General Hull, who basely surrendered at Detroit, and General Winchester, who was caught unprepared at Monroe, General Harrison carefully planned his campaign. As a result the year 1813 retrieved the failures of 1812. British and savages alike learned at Fort Meigs that the American commander who opposed them was a man of skill, foresight and courage. Their bitter experiences at Fort Stephenson only deepened the impression that the Americans could not be driven from this country by force and they could not be intimidated by threats of butchery by the savages in the event of defeat or capture. Their numbers were terribly decimated. They gained nothing excepting the scalps of Colonel Dudley's brave Kentuckians and a few stragglers. Fear of the savages no longer existed. The victory at the Thames River was only the finishing touch, the death stroke, upon the body which had received its fatal wound in Northwest Ohio. With the capture of the British fleet by Commodore Perry, the power of both the British and Indians was forever broken in this fair region. Those Indians who remained for from twenty to thirty years longer buried the tomahawk and resigned themselves to the supremacy of the white man.

What lessons may we learn from the history of Northwest Ohio? It seems to me that there are very significant lessons. When a boy I regretted that I had not been born earlier, for all history seemed to have been made. The year 1914 dispelled that illusion permanently. The making of history has not ended, and

the demand for courage, both physical and moral, is probably greater today than ever in the world's history.

Great as was the courage of the early pioneers, who threaded the forests and faced death from lurking savages, I doubt whether the heroism demanded of them was as great as that required today in facing some of the problems that have been developed by civilization. They were lured partly by the spirit of adventure. The trackless forests, the abundance of game, the novelty of the experiences, the hope of bettering their fortunes, the element of the wild that exists in man's nature — all contributed their share of the compelling forces that led to their voluntary exile from friends and civilization. Today we face the dangers of luxury resulting from wealth, and the lure of following the line of least resistance. Money can buy everything that satisfies the physical cravings. We are tempted to rest satisfied when these demands are appeased. But there are ever great moral and political problems that need pioneering, and for these the highest possible degree of physical and moral courage is needed. There are tempters on every hand who assail the pioneer more insidiously and more treacherously than did the waiting savage waylay the pioneer in the wilderness.

When General Wayne was asked by one of his subordinates, just before the attack was ordered at Fallen Timbers, what his field orders would be, his answer was: "The standing order for the day is to charge the enemy." When Captain Croghan was asked by the emissary of the British general to surrender Fort Stephenson, because his savages could not be restrained if victory fell to them, as it certainly must, the reply was: "When the fort is taken, there will be no survivors left

to massacre. It will not be given up so long as there is a man able to resist." These words might be taken as the watchwords of those who are fighting for the right. Always face the enemy and charge him with the bayonet, and never yield so long as there is anyone left who is able to fight. We will then be able to repeat the memorable words of Commodore Perry to those who anxiously await the result of the struggle: "We have met the enemy and they are ours."





## THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN OF 1875 IN OHIO \*

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BY FORREST WILLIAM CLONTS, M. A.

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### SIGNIFICANCE OF CAMPAIGN.

As a purely state contest, the political campaign of 1875 in Ohio was of more than ordinary significance. It was unusually long, intensely conducted, bitterly fought and the conclusion might be interpreted to have decided at least one very important question for the people of the entire country. Widespread attention served to arouse the citizens of Ohio to the meaning of the principal issue involved. Outside of Ohio certain sections of the country participated to such an extent that the result of the election was partly attributed to this external influence. It is not often that single state elections attract such extensive notice as was given this one. It was in this campaign of 1875 that one question became very positively decided for the two major parties of the country. It was also in this campaign that a man was placed in a position for receiving the presidential nomination of his party. Although all the officers to be elected were to fill state positions there was only one question injected into the contest involving the welfare of Ohio alone.

Sometime before the actual canvass of the state was begun and even before any issues were definitely decided upon, attention was directed to Ohio because of the bearing it was conceded the result would have on the

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national election of the following year. At that time Ohio was an important state. In 1874 the election had gone heavily against the Republicans, as it had done in many other states. The contest in Ohio was one of the early ones to be decided in 1875 and it was believed by both the Democrats and Republicans that the outcome here would be to some extent an influence on later state elections, if not indication of the result of the presidential campaign in 1876. And while very advantageous conditions favorably inclined toward a Democrat victory in Ohio, the Republicans early determined on a vigorous campaign in order to overcome the odds against which they evidently had to contend.

This aspect, however, was materially changed by the injection into the campaign of an issue of great importance to the entire country. It was a question concerning the national currency. Since the Civil War the currency had been a perplexing problem of the federal government. The suspension of specie payments and the circulation of paper money had created a baneful condition that was not easy to correct. The issuing of national bank notes also added to the confusion because they were suspected by the people of some parts of the United States. Not a few came to regard a return to specie payment as meaning contraction. They were unwilling to give up the convenience of even a depreciated currency. The lines of cleavage ran according to section rather than to party. Although the major parties were disunited in 1874, the long delayed resumption act of 1875 had been regarded as having settled the currency issue. But the question had not been decided by the people. It remained for Ohio, in the campaign of 1875, to solve this question. The battle was fought in Ohio for

the entire country, the situation being aptly compared by an Eastern journal to the two champions who stood out before the armies and singly determined the contest.' It was a gigantic struggle and the result in this case was heeded by the major parties as an expression of the sentiment of the country on the currency question.

There was for the candidates an underlying stimulant, — a sort of unbreathed feeling that a greater prize would finally result from victory. The presidential election was to come in 1876. Because of the importance of the Ohio situation, many recognized that a Republican who could carry the State under such unfavorable circumstances would be an acceptable candidate for the supreme executive of the nation. With the opening of the campaign it was also evident that should the Democrats carry the state their financial doctrines would capture the national convention and the successful leader in the state would be nominated for the presidency. This was no idle dream of the gubernatorial candidates. It was widely asserted. And when the *Terre Haute Express* said that "the man who is elected governor of Ohio this fall will be the next presidential nominee of his party," it spoke something of the common mind<sup>2</sup>. So for the principal candidates there was a greater prize at stake which, though they dared not discuss, they were doubtless cognizant of.

Besides the currency question and the relation of the campaign to the presidential election in 1876 there arose one minor issue concerning only the State. This was the public school question, unfortunately brought in because of the passage of a bill by the legislature that

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<sup>1</sup> *Harpers Weekly*, Sept. 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Terre Haute Express*, quoted by *Cincinnati Enquirer*, July 1.

was alleged to favor the Catholic Church. The whole charge hinged on the circumstances surrounding the passage of this measure rather than the actual contents of the act. While it cannot be definitely ascertained to what extent this question affected the decision in the election, it played a part of some importance. The question was one on which politicians were able to arouse the prejudices of many people. Both parties brought in the school system in their campaign documents, but upon it they agreed. There was, in truth, no issue, although the "Grogan Bill" had produced one of those situations that afford an opportunity for much political wrangling.

In recounting the progress and result of this campaign, neither the unusual economic conditions within Ohio at that time nor the personalities of the leading party men in the State could be left out of consideration. Business had not revived since the financial panic of 1873. This doubtless was responsible for much of the unwholesome thinking on the money question that pervaded this campaign. But if economic conditions were bad, the state parties did not lack able and experienced men to lead them. The candidates for governor were men who had received many public honors. They possessed long political records that merited the confidence of their parties and they were supported in this particular instance by groups of notables such as few states could boast in that day.

#### SOME UNDERLYING INFLUENCES.

Just as in seeking the causes that prompt this or that distinct act on the part of an individual many forces are caught and scrutinized, so in examining any expression



of the popular will there are conditions underlying the open issues that are materially to be reckoned. Particularly is this true with respect to the state political campaign of 1875 in Ohio. National as well as state conditions must be borne in mind, for, regardless of the fact that the election concerned only state officers, the principal issue was national in its scope. Since the beginning of the Civil War national politics, too, had affected state elections. In connection with this widespread inherent force in local politics at that time must also be considered the depressing economic condition peculiar to Ohio.

Of these two underlying influences the strenuous economic condition within Ohio in 1875 probably had the more pronounced effect on the political campaign of that year. This campaign came at a time of serious business depression, which, if any definite limits can be assigned, lasted from 1873 to 1878. At the time of the panic of 1873 Ohio was making progress scarcely comprehensible in the field of manufacturing. Rich mines of various substances were being profitably worked to supply the increased demand begun with the Civil War period. Agriculture, too, was keeping pace in consequence of favorable circumstances. But the depression wrought havoc to all of these industries to the extent that value declines, bankruptcies, unemployment and the penury of the masses become monotonous in the process of relating.

The whole field of industry in the state had been partially paralyzed by the panic of 1873. Banks were forced to suspend business, merchants either received long extended credit or became bankrupt, mills and factories, many of which were just developing into large



establishments, ceased operating, labor was idle and the farmers were unable to command more than meager returns for farm products. This condition in Ohio, as in the country at large, might be spoken of, not as the panic of 1873, but of the seventies. In certain industries the severest years were experienced after 1873. This is, quite often, spoken of as the aftermath of the panic but too often its intensity is forgotten in the consideration of contemporaneous events. Illustrations of industrial depression characteristic to this period may be observed in iron production, coal mining and the unhappy labor conditions.

The statistics available in the iron industry are not to be taken as indicative of the true state of affairs. The few years immediately preceding the panic of the seventies were ones of enormous growth. The increase in the number of establishments and the enlargement of those already in existence point to this progress.<sup>3</sup> However the statistics, as reported by the secretary of state, are not only not in keeping with this growth but are so untrustworthy that persons were warned against accepting them.<sup>4</sup> Only a few of the business establishments made returns to the state secretary and therefore his report was very incomplete. For this reason these statistics are unreliable.

Cleveland alone, which had but eight rolling mills in 1870, had fourteen in 1872.<sup>5</sup> It is also true that the iron industry was among the most seriously injured by the panic. Its products were used almost exclusively in extensive enterprises that had to be discontinued as a

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<sup>3</sup> Appleton, *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1872, 654.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 654.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 654.

result of the depression. There can be no mistake in the interpretation put upon the number of blast furnaces that were forced to discontinue operation. Over half of the furnaces in Ohio went out of business between 1873 and 1878.<sup>6</sup> The severest years were from 1875 to 1878. It was during this period that charcoal blast furnaces found it nearly impossible to compete with coke burning furnaces and consequently many that were idle became permanently so.<sup>7</sup> It was also a time when steel, especially Bessemer, was supplanting the use of iron for the construction of rails.<sup>8</sup> It was a distinctly unsettled period among those furnaces that remained active. Add to this the discharge of a large percent of laborers and something like a very general condition may be realized.<sup>9</sup>

In another industry, at that time one of Ohio's principal ones, the situation was hardly more favorable. The depression in business caused a reaction in the coal industry from almost every direction. Household as well as manufacturing consumption was reduced to the lowest possible basis.<sup>10</sup> Here, too, the available statistics cannot be relied upon for complete information. The output in bushels for 1872 was over one hundred and ten million as reported by the state, but such figures are quoted with the full knowledge that the production was far in excess of that amount.<sup>11</sup> In 1874 the returns show slightly over eighty-five million bushels mined, and in 1875 this was increased to almost ninety-eight mil-

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<sup>6</sup> *Ohio Labor Statistics*, 1878, 75-77, 81.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 83.

<sup>8</sup> *Ohio Labor Statistics*, 1878, 88.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 1877, 116.

<sup>11</sup> Appleton, *Annual Cyclopadia*, 1873, 613.

lion.<sup>12</sup> Some of the mines were closed and the miners moved away.<sup>13</sup> Others were worked only part time and with much reduced forces. And yet, it is not the decrease in the production of coal or iron, nor the reduction in the number of employees that lent so much color to the morbid discontent. Many mines and furnaces that were discontinued were those that had been operated at a profit only under extremely favorable conditions of high prices and an unsupplied demand. The depression had closed them permanently. There was a deeper cause for the widespread discontent of 1875. This was to be found in the appalling reduction of wages and the deplorable conditions under which the laborers were forced to work.

There is probably nothing more disheartening than to receive on pay-day a thinner envelope for the usual amount of labor than it is customary to receive. Whether the cost of living has decreased or not this to a certain extent is true. But when the reverse is so, that is, when wages are reduced more rapidly than the cost of living declines, the labor field is rife with discontent. From 1872 to 1878 the average reduction of wages in the coal industry was thirty-three percent.<sup>14</sup> In some important enterprises the reduction was even greater and in some sections conditions were more unsatisfactory than in others. One decrease would be followed shortly by another. So many employees were laid off that those remaining could do nothing in the way of protesting for fear of losing their places. A striking illustration of

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<sup>12</sup> Appleton, *Annual Cyclopædia*, 1875, 603.

<sup>13</sup> *Ohio Labor Statistics*, 1878, 49.

<sup>14</sup> *Ohio Labor Statistics*, 1878, 253.

wage reductions may be seen in the report from Mahoning Valley in regard to the wages of laborers employed at the furnaces there. In this section six reductions of ten percent each were recorded. Laborers who received \$2.50 to \$3.00 per day in 1873 received scarcely \$1.50 a day in 1878.<sup>15</sup>

To be considered in connection with the reduction of wages is the closely allied cost of living. It did not show such a marked decrease when compared to the reduction of wages. In 1878 groceries had not fallen exceeding twelve percent as compared to the prices of 1873, while they were nearly twenty percent higher than in 1861.<sup>16</sup> Many of the articles of necessity had scarcely been lowered in price at all. In fact some of the staples were higher in the latter part of the financial depression of the seventies than they were in 1871.<sup>17</sup> The laborers, however, had little control over their circumstances. Strikes only added to the intensity of their poverty and resulted usually in their return to work at a still further reduction of wages or the closing of the plant altogether. Attending this general disorder there had been revived

<sup>15</sup> On the first day of Oct. 1873, laborers at furnaces in Mahoning Valley were paid the following prices per day; keepers, \$2.75; helpers, \$2.37; top fillers, \$2.50; bottom fillers, \$2.25; laborers, \$1.75; engineers, \$2.75; blacksmiths, \$3.00; blacksmith's helpers, \$2.00; firemen, \$2.25. In Oct. 1873, these men were reduced in their wages ten percent, in Nov. 1873, another ten percent deduction was made; in April 1874, a ten percent, in Dec. ten percent, in Dec. 1875 ten percent, and in 1877 still another ten percent reduction was made, bringing the prices paid for furnace labor to as follows: Keepers, \$1.45; helpers, \$1.24; top fillers, \$1.45; bottom fillers, \$1.20; laborers, \$1.00; engineers, \$1.50 to \$1.75 and firemen \$1.20. *Ohio Labor Statistics*, 1878, 59.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 253.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 253. Some comparative prices of articles in 1861, 1871 and 1878 were:

	1861		1871		1878		
Flour .....	\$5 35	to \$5 75	\$5 30	to \$5 75	\$5 50	to \$6 50	bb.
Potatoes ...	25	to 30	95	to 1 00		55	bu.
Sugar .....	06½	to 09	13	to 14	09	to 12½	lb.
Coffee .....		20	25	to 26	33	to 35	lb.



a practice in paying wages that was disliked by the laborer. While there were many evils, the revival of the use of the "truck" system seems to have been the most unfortunate.

The use of scrip or the "truck system" as it was generally called, was the paying of wages in goods or store orders. Before 1861 this practice had been widely known, but with the issuing of legal tender money in the form of greenbacks during the war and the large demand for labor incidental to that period, workmen had been able to ask peremptorily that their wages be paid in cash.<sup>18</sup> However, a different situation was created by the panic. Money became scarce, production was diminished and labor exceeded its market. And with this came the revival of paying wages with store orders. The coal and iron industries made the most use of this system. Their orders were usually promises to pay, on demand, a specified amount in merchandise. Some were even transferable.<sup>19</sup> These served as a medium of exchange, passing from hand to hand just as the greenbacks had done before the depression. The evils of such a system are evident. The order, or scrip, was issued on a company's store and there the employees had to purchase practically everything. For cash a person could buy more goods than he would receive for the same amount of scrip. There were two prices, a cash and a scrip price.<sup>20</sup> It is not difficult to imagine the discontent among those workmen, who in addition to having wages reduced and the cost of living relatively higher, received their wages in goods instead of cash.

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<sup>18</sup> *Ohio Labor Statistics*, 1877, 159.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 183.

<sup>20</sup> *Ohio Labor Statistics*, 1877, 159.



Upon an investigation made by the Ohio Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1876-7 it was found that this system was very widely revived and it was among the chief causes of discontent in certain industries. Especially in rural communities was the practice general. Even an act of the legislature failed to stop the practice. The laborers themselves, with work so scarce, were reticent with regard to the abuse, although they seriously felt its injustice.<sup>21</sup> One need only review the first few reports of the Bureau, beginning with the initial issue in 1877, to get a comprehensive idea of the deplorable labor conditions that existed during the years 1873-1878 in almost every field of industry within the state.

Little need be said concerning agricultural conditions in 1875. While the farmer was relatively more fortunate than the manufacturer and miner, he did not readily concede that his position was not more hopeless. Almost all production had been decreased in 1873 but the principal food crops showed a marked increase in 1874.<sup>22</sup> With such produce as tobacco there had, of course, been an almost automatic decrease of some extent, but such crops did not constitute a major part of farm cultivation.<sup>23</sup> The year 1875 opened with bright prospects for a profitable year. The Western farmer was in a more excellent condition than he had been for the two previous years.<sup>24</sup> And yet, he seems to have taken a dark outlook. The President of the State Agricultural Convention in his address in 1875 gives an indication of the state of many minds. The drawback of an unfavorable

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<sup>21</sup> *Ohio Labor Statistics*, 1878, 115-129.

<sup>22</sup> Appleton, *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1875, 602.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *Ohio Statesman*, Mar. 25, 1875.

season, together with dull markets, he said, and stringent money matters had caused a distrust in the minds of many.<sup>25</sup> It was, in truth, this distrust in the minds of the farmers that gave to them their bodings of evil times.

The other potent influence affecting the election in Ohio of 1875 was the character of the major parties. Nationally the Republican party had created during the few years preceding 1875 a seemingly questionable reputation.<sup>26</sup> Such affairs as the Credit Mobilier, the increased-pay act of congressmen, commonly called the "Salary Grab," the New York custom house corruption, the Sanborn contracts, the unscrupulous dealings of Mr. Butler and the unsatisfactory settlement of southern troubles were fresh in the minds of the people. Almost any one of these disagreeable things would serve to discredit a party in normal times, and yet the Republicans went into the campaign of 1875 with all of them on record. In 1874 it had been unnecessary for the Democratic party to advocate any constructive policy to win in many state elections. It merely had to display before the people the Republican scandals of the immediately preceding years.

Of even more recent attraction was the attempted settlement of the election trouble in Louisiana during the first few weeks of 1875. Conditions there had been viewed by many people of the North with some apprehension but the employment of federal force to control

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<sup>25</sup> *Ohio Agricultural Report*, 1875, 73.

<sup>26</sup> No attempt has been made at using original sources in portraying something of the national situation respecting politics. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, 1850-1877, VII, has been more often consulted than any other one general source. For the Ohio view point, Randall and Ryan, *History of Ohio*, IV, has supplemented the sources of general history.

the state election had so aroused the public that many Republicans as well as Democrats became indignant. Large meetings in New York, Boston and other Northern cities protested against the action of the administration. Speeches in Congress and a Congressional committee report increased an already damaging sentiment against Republican leaders. Not all, however, was disapproval. The whole affair was defended by the more partisan Republicans and in some sections the question was assuming the appearance of a political issue. In no instance did the Democrats lose an opportunity to give publicity to the very distasteful aspect of the entire situation.

But the Democratic party was not without an inauspicious past. It still had an unfavorable war record to defend, or rather to outlive, and a marked feeling continued that its control of the government would result in restoring the power of the South. This was a factor of some importance even a decade after the surrender of General Lee at Appomattox. Speakers and writers played upon the sensibilities of many individuals in the North and excited much prejudice in reviving some of the questions of the Civil War. No campaign at this time was free from its war influence and in the North it worked to the detriment of the Democrat party.

The foregoing facts, while not intended to be either an intensive study of national political conditions of the time or the economic situation in Ohio, will bring to mind some of the important influences affecting the state campaign of 1875. While the Republicans had a very undesirable national reputation to defend, the Democrats were partly distrusted. In the state, business conditions were generally bad, as illustrated by the decrease

in production, the diminution of wages, the lack of employment and the material decrease in the amount of currency in circulation. Before this dark background stood out a number of strong men in both parties to contend for opposing principles of the currency.

#### CANDIDATES AND LEADERS.

Ohio in 1875 had several notable party men whose previous activities had won them state and national prominence. Both the Republicans and Democrats could boast of such men. So in the events preceding and attending this political campaign the influence of these men was felt and must be considered if we would understand the outcome. The Democrats were fortunate in having the larger number of notables. They were in control of the state government. But what the Republicans lacked in numbers, they made up in the great force of character possessed by their leaders. In addition, they were aided by one or two persons from outside of the state whose weight told especially with certain elements.

Among the noted Democrats was Mr. Allen G. Thurman, whose fame, as a party man, was national.<sup>27</sup> Of aristocratic Southern birth, he was by inheritance an old school Democrat. In order to begin the practice of law Mr. Thurman had been forced to work hard and this he continued to do when he entered politics. Before the Civil War he became a state supreme court judge and

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<sup>27</sup> Biographical facts obtained from: Lee, *History of the City of Columbus*, I, 855-6; Western Biographical Publishing Company, *Historical and Biographical Cyclopædia of the State of Ohio*, 195-7; *Biographical Encyclopædia of Ohio of the 19th Century*, 342-3; Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, *Publications*, iv, 478.



served one term in Congress. In 1867, as the Democratic gubernatorial candidate he reduced the Republican majority of forty-three thousand the year before to less than three thousand.<sup>28</sup> And although defeated for governor, the legislature went Democratic and Mr. Thurman was chosen United States Senator. He had grown up a Democrat of the strictest type and from these views he did not easily recede. With his aid and the organization which he had helped to build in the state, the Democrats carried the state in 1873 and he was re-elected to the Senate. Of noteworthy significance in relation to the campaign of 1875 were Mr. Thurman's currency views. In the Senate he had consistently shown himself to be in favor of a currency based only on specie payment and he wished a return to that standard as early as possible. His position on this and other national questions was supported by such logical argument that he had come to be regarded favorably throughout the country as a candidate for the presidency.

Mr. Thurman's mind on the currency is most clearly revealed in a speech made in the United States Senate on March 24, 1874.<sup>29</sup> It was a speech made in reply to a personal attack which aimed to show that he had not heeded the demands of his constituents for inflation and had attempted to dodge the currency issue by being absent when certain votes had been taken. At the conclusion of Mr. Thurman's speech there was no doubt in the mind of anyone as to the consistency of his position. He said that while he was opposed to legislation that would force an immediate return to specie payment,

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<sup>28</sup> Lee, *History of the City of Columbus*, I, 855.

<sup>29</sup> *Congressional Record*, 43rd Cong., 1st Sess., 2393 et seq.



never had anyone heard him utter one word in favor of inflation. Demonitizing gold and silver in perpetuity and substituting an irredeemable paper based upon government credit and depending upon the opinions and interest of the members of congress was what he held inflation to mean. He said that he was too old-fashioned a Democrat, had preached and heard too many hard-money lessons to advocate such a principle as that. He denied that he had ever believed that the currency had been responsible for the panic of 1873 and he gave in support of his position the facts on which he based his belief. He denied that the sentiment in Ohio favored inflation. While he admitted that the state was divided on the currency question and that some of his friends had found occasion to differ with himself on that issue, he stated that not a single petition from Ohio had been received by him asking for inflation.

In spite of the prominence of Mr. Thurman, the man on whom the eyes of Democrats rested in the summer of 1875 was Mr. William Allen,<sup>30</sup> at that time governor of the state and a candidate for re-election. He was the uncle of Mr. Thurman, had been born in the South and during his youth was a member of the Thurman household. He was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty and when elected to the 23rd Congress was the youngest members in that body. He rose suddenly to influence through his gift of oratory. Having realized that his success lay in that gift he exerted every effort to attain his mastery. Thus when a meeting of the

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<sup>30</sup> Facts relating to Mr. Allen's life obtained from: *Biographical Cyclopædia of Ohio*, (1880) 91; *Historical and Biographical Cyclopædia of Ohio*, (1883) I, 154-5; *History of Ross and Highland Counties*, (1880), 222-3; *History of Ross County*, (1917), 158-160.

Democratic leaders of the state was held in 1837 to select a candidate for the United States Senate, Mr. Allen so electrified this gathering by one of his addresses that he was immediately selected as the candidate for that office. With the success of the Democrats in that hour Mr. Allen was sent to the Senate where he continued a leading orator in a body that numbered among its members such men as Daniel Webster and Henry Clay. After serving a second term Mr. Allen retired to a country home in the state, where he remained aloof from political life and especially the turbulence of the Civil War strife until the campaign of 1873, when as a candidate for governor he was elected. The remainder of the Democratic ticket in that year was defeated. His leadership was further attested by the fact that he was the first Democrat to serve as governor of Ohio after the Civil War.

Mr. Allen was another of the old-school Democrats but he had not been so out-spoken on the currency as Mr. Thurman. His attention had been directed to other subjects. Although his term as governor lacked any events approaching the spectacular, he directed the efforts of the administration toward strict economy in the expenditure of public funds. Coming at a time when the people of the state most felt the burden of taxes, his efforts greatly pleased those who had elected him to office. He was the sole candidate for governor in the Democratic convention of 1875 and his popularity was such that the Republicans realized that it would be exceedingly difficult to defeat him.

Two other prominent Democrats in the State campaign of 1875 were Mr. Samuel Cary and Mr. George H. Pendleton. Mr. Cary was the Democratic nominee

for lieutenant-governor.<sup>31</sup> As the campaign progressed Mr. Cary's activities became more and more pronounced until he was regarded as one of the chief advocates of the new currency views adopted by the Democratic party in the State. In consideration of this fact, his history is of much weight. He was by inheritance a Whig. Later he became a Republican. But these political parties he had not followed consistently because of his independent impulses. As a lawyer Mr. Cary had been successful but he abandoned his practice to devote his entire energies to philanthropic work. The direction in which this energy moved was first the temperance field, for which he wrote and spoke throughout the United States. Later he turned his attention to the labor cause. In 1867 he was elected to Congress on an independent ticket, supported largely by the labor men. Because of his vote against the impeachment of President Johnson and his opposition to the "Southern Policy" of the Republican leaders in Congress, Mr. Cary won the friendship of many Democrats. He continued in Congress his appeals in behalf of labor and temperance. Some of his speeches received wide circulation, noteworthy being one he delivered in the House on the needs of labor.

It was while a member of Congress that Mr. Cary found himself leaning towards Democratic views and he soon afterwards joined that party. His career was quite varied. He followed his philanthropic ideas to such an extent that he could not be called a conservative person. He sought after the new and untried, and his labor-temperance views combined with his economic theories

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<sup>31</sup> Facts concerning the life of Mr. Cary were obtained from: *Biographical Cyclopædia of Ohio*, (1876), 585-6; *National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, XI, 480; Greve, *Centennial History of Cincinnati*, II, 529-31.

made him neither a faithful Republican nor a strict Democrat. But that which he believed he advocated with a force of expression and a method of presentation that rendered him a formidable opponent.

Mr. Pendleton,<sup>32</sup> although not a candidate for any office, was among the nationally prominent figures in the Democratic party at this period. He had achieved many honors in his political activities, the first of importance being his election to the state senate in 1854. At that time he had the additional honor of being the youngest member of that body. Three years later he was elected a representative to Congress and he continued among the few Democrats to hold a seat there during the four years of the Civil War. In 1868 Mr. Pendleton received on the first ballot in the National Democratic Convention almost as many votes for president as all the other candidates combined. However he failed to receive the nomination. In the following year he accepted, much against his judgment, the nomination for governor of the State and although defeated by the man who was leading the Republicans in 1875, Mr. Hayes, he received a very remarkable vote, considering the conditions of that year.

Mr. Pendleton was among the early advocates of plenty of greenbacks. In the Democratic National Convention of 1868 he had advocated what was popularly called "The Ohio Idea," which was nothing more than a program of inflation.<sup>33</sup> His views regarding the cur-

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<sup>32</sup> Information concerning Mr. Pendleton's life obtained from: *Biographical Encyclopædia of Ohio*, (1876), 616-17; *Historical and Biographical Cyclopædia of Ohio*, (1883), 143-4; *History of Cincinnati and Hamilton County, Ohio*, (1894), 546-8; *National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, III, 278; Haynes, *Third Party Movements*, 105.



rency were no doubt partly responsible for the strong inflation sentiment in and around Cincinnati.

There were other prominent Ohio Democrats who supported the party in the campaign of 1875 but without distinct or notable influence on the outcome. Such was Mr. Thomas Ewing, who spoke with zeal and energy throughout the campaign. But in spite of the number of strong and popular party men, the Democrats were unfortunate in having leaders of diverse views. The Republicans, in contrast, had a few very forceful men who were thoroughly in accord. Mr. Hayes and Mr. Sherman led their party without opposition within the party on the one decided issue of the hour.

When the call came for a man to defeat the popular Democratic Governor, Mr. Allen, the name of Mr. Hayes became the hope of his party.<sup>34</sup> While showing much interest in politics, Mr. Hayes was not a prominent party man, even within the state, before the close of the Civil War. The only public position he held up to that time was that of solicitor for the City of Cincinnati. But during the war, in the capacity of an officer, he found an opportunity to display his ability as a leader. Before the close of that struggle he had attained by meritorious service the rank of brevet major-general and while still in the field he had been nominated and elected to Congress from his home district. This was the beginning of his political career. In 1867 he defeated Mr. Thurman for the governorship and two years later the popular Mr. Pendleton. But in 1872, under very adverse conditions, Mr. Hayes was defeated for

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<sup>34</sup> Biographical notes obtained from Williams, *Rutherford Birchard Hayes*, I, unless otherwise indicated. This work is compiled chiefly from the diary of Mr. Hayes and it gives in detail many of his personal views relating to government and politics.



congressman. With this event he decided to retire to his home in Fremont.

Mr. Hayes was an exceedingly modest and retiring person. He never sought for office or honor although he attained both through his ability to work, his consistently sound thinking and his natural quality of leadership. He had never held any other currency theory than that of redeemable paper. This fact is evidenced by an expression recorded in his diary before he became of age.<sup>35</sup> Mr. Hayes never forsook this principle. It was in the congressional campaign of 1872 that he said that one of the things of vital importance to the country at that time was a sound financial policy. This, he held, could only be reached by the establishment of gold as the basis of the currency. But the defeat in that year aroused a longing to return permanently to the enjoyment of private life and it was his sincerest wish that this hope would be realized when he went to Fremont in 1873.

As a co-worker with Mr. Hayes in this campaign of 1875, the record and position of Mr. John Sherman were fittingly advantageous. Like most of the leading party men in Ohio at this time Mr. Sherman had early followed his inclination into politics.<sup>36</sup> In his "Recollections" he thus stated his political bias; "I was by inheritance and association a Whig boy, without much care

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<sup>35</sup> September 6, 1841, Mr. Hayes wrote in his diary, "I hoped we should . . . have a stable currency of uniform value, but since Tyler has vetoed one way of accomplishing this, I would not hesitate to try others," Williams, *Rutherford Birchard Hayes*, I, 99

<sup>36</sup> Unless otherwise stated, facts relating to Mr. Sherman's life were obtained from: Sherman, *Recollections*, I; Burton, *John Sherman*; Wilson, James Grant, Ed. *Presidents of the United States*, (Hayes, by Schurtz) III, 107-159.

for or knowledge of parties or political principles. No doubt my discharge from the engineer corps by a Democratic Board of Public Works strengthened this bias.<sup>37</sup> The Whig party in Mr. Sherman's district was in the minority but this did not prevent him from exerting his efforts on every issue for that party. In 1854 he made his initial attempt as a candidate for public office. The basis of this campaign and the principle on which Mr. Sherman was elected to Congress was the anti-slavery cry of a new party, at that time without a name.<sup>38</sup> After three terms as congressman, Mr. Sherman was elected United States Senator, which position he was holding at the time of the political campaign of 1875 in Ohio.

With the panic of 1857 Mr. Sherman became keenly interested in the finance of the country. This subject he made his specialty from that time. From almost the beginning of the Civil War until his retirement from public life, he was reputed the leading authority in Congress on the condition of the currency. He took the lead in the fight for resumption after the war. When Congress convened in December, 1873, more than sixty bills, resolutions and propositions were introduced to relieve the financial situation of the country. They showed every shade of opinion from plans for immediate coin payments to unthinkable schemes of inflation. To these propositions, Mr. Sherman, as chairman of the committee on finance, reported a resolution which stated that the duty of Congress was the fulfillment of its pledge of March 18, 1867, which promised a return to specie payment. A substitute for this resolution was proposed, directing an inflation of the currency, and it was upon

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<sup>37</sup> Sherman, *Recollections*, I, 91.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 103.

this adverse resolution that Mr. Sherman delivered one of his famous speeches on finance.<sup>39</sup> He based his argument upon two distinct points. First, that a specie standard was the only true standard of values; and second, that the United States was bound both by public faith and good policy to bring its currency to the gold standard. Although supported by the most logical and perspicuous argument, he could not persuade the majority of the Senate to his views. This was a fair indication of the divided opinion throughout the country. But Mr. Sherman continued to oppose inflation. After the veto of the inflation bill in 1874, he again set forth to secure a return to specie payment and this time his efforts led to the enactment of the Resumption Act of January, 1875. It was in connection with this act that Mr. Sherman became the leading hard-money man in the country and the object of bitterest attack by the greenback advocates. As this Resumption Act of 1875 was one of the subjects of political controversy of that year, especially in the state of Mr. Sherman's residence, it was natural that he should, as its author and sponsor, exert a wide influence on the outcome of the canvass.

Although Mr. Hayes and Mr. Sherman were the only Republicans within the state at that time whose personal influence was of great importance in this campaign, there were one or two men from outside the state who came in and whose influence was powerful with certain elements. The foremost of these was Mr. Carl Schurz,<sup>40</sup> a very remarkable independent-thinking

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<sup>39</sup> *Speeches and Reports on Finance and Taxation by John Sherman*, (1879), 402-452.

<sup>40</sup> Biographical facts obtained from: *National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, III, 202-3, and sketch by Frederick Bancroft and William H. Dunning, *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, III, 313-436.

American of German birth. \*Because of his activity in the revolution of 1848 in Germany he was forced to flee from that country, coming to the United States in 1852. With the organization of the Republican party he joined with its followers in the anti-slavery movement. Mr. Schurz was an orator of more than ordinary ability and his speeches before the Civil War, given in German, were credited with being the most potent factor in turning Wisconsin against the extension of slavery. Immediately he became a national figure. After aiding in the election of Mr. Lincoln, he was sent by him as minister to the important Spanish post, but resigned in the same year, 1861, to enter the Union army. Successful in military pursuits, he continued to favor and be favored by the Republican party. In 1869 he was elected United States Senator from Missouri.

But in Congress his independent mind caused him to bolt the Republican party. He opposed the Southern policy of the Republican leaders and objected to some of the individual plans of these men. In 1872 he was affiliated with the liberal movement that nominated Mr. Greeley for the presidency and for the next few years Mr. Schurz was considered an independent party man. It was in this capacity that he came to Ohio in 1875.

During the preceding year he made several effective speeches in the Senate in support of a return to specie payment. The most ardent of these was delivered on the 14th of January, at which time he summed up his arguments in sixteen points. These related principally to the evils of an irredeemable currency, the wisdom of a return to specie payment and the duty of the government to fulfill its promise and obligation.<sup>41</sup> Because of

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<sup>41</sup> *Congressional Record*, 43rd Cong., 1st Sess., 635-645.



his citations from economists and his references to results from similar conditions in other countries he was dubbed by his opponents a mere theorist. But he thoroughly believed in a currency based only on the precious metals and to this position he drew, by his sound reasoning, many converts.

Of those who came from without the State, Mr. Morton, United States Senator from Indiana, deserves some mention, although not because of his influence on the chief issue. His record on the currency issue was not one to create confidence. In 1874 he was committed to the inflation idea and led the opposition to the arguments of Mr. Sherman and Mr. Schurz. His speeches in the campaign of 1875 were of no particular weight, being chiefly to revive the Civil War sentiment. The difference between Mr. Schurz and Mr. Morton is shown in one of their clashes in the Senate. Mr. Schurz made a reference to Mr. Morton's inconsistent record on the currency question, to which Mr. Morton replied that he would change again whenever he came to think his opinion wrong, but that he had never so changed his mind as to be obliged to go out of his party. This drew from Mr. Schurz a defense of his position with a significant conclusion. "He (Morton) has never left his party," said Mr. Schurz, "I have never betrayed my principles. That is the difference between him and me."<sup>42</sup>

#### THE TREND OF PLATFORMS AND PARTIES.

While Congress pledged on March 18th, 1869, a return to specie payment, the promise was not followed consistently by either party during the following six

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<sup>42</sup> Bancroft and Dunning, *Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, III, 357-8.



years. Resumption was looked on by a large portion of both parties as meaning contraction. The years immediately preceding the panic of 1873, too, were ones of prosperity and speculation. In general, the people of the West, irrespective of party, opposed resumption and the people of the East favored it. Neither party nor section, however, was anxious to force the issue during a period of satisfactory business conditions, but with the collapse of industry the issue was drawn to the forefront as a political question.

In 1868 Mr. Pendleton, as a candidate for the presidential nomination of the Democrat party, had advocated the payment of government bonds in greenbacks.<sup>43</sup> The enthusiasm for this idea is shown in the fact that Mr. Pendleton received practically half of the votes of the convention on the first ballot. The opposition to the "Yourn Greenback," as Mr. Pendleton was then called; is strikingly shown in the fact that it was impossible to secure the necessary two-thirds vote to receive the nomination. But he was ardently supported by all the delegates from Ohio on the principle he advocated of paying the bonds in greenbacks, equal taxation and one currency for all.

In 1869 the state platform of the Democrat party opposed the payment of bonds, which had been bought with greenbacks, in gold. And in this it went so far as to say that if the claims of bond holders to the payment of all government bonds in gold were persisted in, repudiation would be forced upon the people.<sup>44</sup> On the currency the Republican platform of that year was silent. Again in 1870 the state Democratic platform had a res-

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<sup>43</sup> Haynes, *Third Party Movements*, 105.

<sup>44</sup> Appleton, *Annual Cyclopædia*, 1869, 550.

olution in regard to the currency. It proposed the abolition of national banks and the substitution of treasury notes for the notes of such banks.<sup>45</sup>

The following year the Democratic convention stated, at great length, "that the true mode of returning to specie payment is to make customs duties payable in legal tender currency and stop gambling in gold."<sup>46</sup> It was in this year, 1871, that the Republican state platform declared that "specie is the basis of all sound currency, and that true policy requires as speedy a return to that basis as is practicable, without distress to the debtor class of the people."<sup>47</sup>

The Republican state convention fails to deal with the currency question at its meetings in 1872 and 1873. And although the Democratic platform is silent on that subject in 1872, in 1873 a sound money policy is indorsed in the following terms: "It [the Democratic party] recognizes the evils of an irredeemable currency, but insists that in a return to specie payment care shall be taken not to seriously disturb the business of the country, or unjustly injure the debtor class."<sup>48</sup> This much of the platform, Mr. Thurman claims, was written with his own hand.<sup>49</sup> The resumption element of the Democratic party was at that time in control of the convention. But in 1874 the Democratic platform shows strongly that tendency which culminated in the stand it took in 1875. The first and foremost resolution in the platform of 1874 was as follows:—"a sound currency is indispensable to the welfare of a country,

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<sup>45</sup> Appleton, *Annual Cyclopædia*, 1870, 601.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 1871, 611.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 1871, 610.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 1873, 610.

<sup>49</sup> *Congressional Record*, 43rd Cong., 1st Sess., 2395.

that its volume should be regulated by the necessities of business, and that all laws that interfere with such natural regulation are vicious in principle and detrimental in their effect. We are in favor of such an increase of the circulating medium as the business interest of the country may from time to time require."<sup>50</sup> In the same year the Republican convention committed the party to the fulfilment of the promise of Congress of March, 1869. "It is," the convention declared, "the duty of the National Government to adopt such measures as shall gradually but certainly restore our paper money to a specie standard."<sup>51</sup> And so in 1874, while the two major parties within the state showed some difference on the currency problem, the difference was not sufficient to make the question an open issue at that time.

Almost with the commencement of the year 1875, both the Democratic and Republican parties within the State began to make an inspection of the field and to summon all the forces at their command that might affect favorably the interest of the party in the fall election. The Democrats were in control of the state government. Although Mr. Allen had been elected in 1873 with a majority of less than a thousand,<sup>52</sup> in the following year, in the congressional election, the Democratic majority for the state officers had been increased to almost nineteen thousand, while that of the congressmen totaled nearly thirty thousand.<sup>53</sup> The whole state ticket of the Democrats was successful and thirteen out of twenty congressmen were elected. The Republicans charged their defeat to the woman's temperance cru-

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<sup>50</sup> Appleton, *Annual Cyclopædia*, 1874, 667.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 1874, 668.

<sup>52</sup> Report of Secretary of State.

<sup>53</sup> *Cincinnati Enquirer*, July 19, 1875.

sade, which took place in that year, and which they claimed added to the Prohibition vote from the ranks of the Republicans.<sup>54</sup> The Democrats believed that its vote had been increased partly as a result of the sympathy expressed in its platform of 1873 for the cause of the laboring man.<sup>55</sup> In truth, national political conditions were a disturbing element.

Of some significance were the municipal elections in the State in April, 1875. They could not be interpreted as a singular victory for either party. There was much scratching, indicating an unsettled condition of opinion, and quite a few partial Republican victories. However the Democrats considered the outcome as being generally favorable. They carried Columbus, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Dayton, Newark and many of the smaller places.<sup>56</sup>

During the earlier part of the year no decided issue appeared upon which the October election would be contested. In January, it is true, the Louisiana affair was played with by both sides. Each report from that state was the occasion for partisan comment by both sides. Such remarks as that of the *Ohio Statesman* to the effect that on the Louisiana affair the Republican party was made appeared frequently in the Democratic press.<sup>57</sup>

A more decided issue arose early in April over the passage of the Grogan Bill by the state legislature. From the contents of the Bill<sup>58</sup> there was nothing to

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<sup>54</sup> Powell, *Democratic Party of Ohio*, 226.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 226.

<sup>56</sup> *Ohio Statesman*, April 8, 1875.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, February 11, 1875.

<sup>58</sup> Appleton, *Annual Cyclopædia*, 1875, 605, "Be it enacted, etc., That as liberty of conscience is not forfeited by reason of conviction for crime, or . . . detention in any penal . . . or public asylum in this state, no person in any such institution shall be compelled to attend



warrant so much debate but the circumstances surrounding its passage, when magnified, gave to the bill a curious aspect. The act provided for the giving of sectarian instruction in matters of religion in the penal reformatory institutions of the State. While the bill was pending, a letter from Mr. Grogan, a Catholic and the author of the measure, to a friend, was made public. The letter spoke of the bill as an act of justice to the Roman Catholic Church and said that its passage had been urged as a debt due by the Democrats, then in the majority in the legislature, to the party members of that faith. At the same time the Cincinnati Catholic *Telegraph* published some articles demanding the passage of the bill. The connecting of all these incidents arrayed the Republican members, against the act. It passed by a strict party vote and immediately became a party issue.<sup>59</sup> The discussion in the press, in some instances, became ridiculously strained. All efforts of the Republicans centered on arousing the prejudices of the anti-Catholic and foreign elements. Concerning the Grogan Act, Harper's *Weekly* said, "A bill was introduced into the Ohio assembly by a Mr. Grogan, one plain object of which is stated in several of the Ohio papers to be, to prevent the lay members of the Y. M. C. A. from performing any religious duties in the reform houses and other public institutions and to confer unusual privileges upon the Roman Catholic priests."<sup>60</sup> In some of the local papers whole pages were devoted

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worship . . . which is against the dictate of his or her conscience; and it shall be the duty of every director . . . to permit ample and equal facilities to all such persons for receiving the ministrations of the authorized clergymen of their own religion . . . under such reasonable rules as the trustees shall make . . .

<sup>59</sup> Appleton, *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1875, 605.

<sup>60</sup> Harper's *Weekly*, quoted by *Ohio Statesman*, Arp. 29.



to discussion of this measure in which it was declared to guarantee to the Roman Catholics opportunities for proselyting which no other sect could obtain or ask for.<sup>61</sup> All kinds of dangers and every conceivable harm would result in the control of the government by the Catholics, it was prophesied. The school question was dragged in with the Catholic issue and gave rise to many heated discussions.

But as the time for the State political conventions drew near still other features of the political situation emerged. The Republicans believed their success depended upon nominating the right man for governor. As early as March a meeting in Columbus of prominent Republicans from all parts of the State declared that a good man, no side issues and the record of the Republican party was what it would take to win the fall election.<sup>62</sup> The caucus was unanimous for Mr. Hayes.<sup>63</sup> As the year advanced the idea that only the strongest man in the party would be able to defeat Mr. Allen became generally accepted by the Republicans. In spite of the emphatic and repeated statements of Mr. Hayes that he could not accept the nomination if tendered, the Republican press turned to him with increasing appeals through May and June.

On June 2, the state Republican convention met in Columbus. The platform adopted showed no decided sensibility to any issue upon which victory in the campaign would be staked. Concerning the currency it said that "that policy of finance should be steadily pursued which, without necessary shock to business or trade will

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<sup>61</sup> For example, *Cincinnati Gazette*, quoted by *McConnelssville Herald*, April 9.

<sup>62</sup> *Ohio State Journal*, March 25.

<sup>63</sup> Williams, *Rutherford Birchard Hayes*, I, 382.

ultimately equalize the purchasing capacity of the coin and paper dollar.”<sup>64</sup> All the enthusiasm of the convention was manifested in the selection of a gubernatorial candidate. Because of the repeated refusal of Mr. Hayes to have his name submitted, the nomination of Mr. Taft, of Cincinnati, was favorably received at the beginning of the balloting. But the friends of Mr. Hayes and those who understood the situation in the state so aroused the convention in their appeals that Mr. Hayes finally won the nomination in what was described as an “earthquake of enthusiasm.”<sup>65</sup> In a telegram to the convention, Mr. Hayes accepted the nomination.

Before the meeting of the Democratic state convention occurred, a fight was anticipated over the currency question.<sup>66</sup> It was generally known that a large element in the Democratic ranks within the state favored an inflation platform. This wing of the party received its strongest support from the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, which advocated inflation with all degrees of fervor. On the other hand, Senator Thurman, the leading Democratic party man within the State at that time, was openly committed to the earliest possible return to specie payment. In regard to issues, the Cincinnati *Enquirer* said that the Republican party had declared against a third term for president, against a division of school funds and the union of church and state, and it approved a tariff for revenue, all of which the Democrats would likewise approve. “There is, then,” continued the *Enquirer*, “no live issue upon which the parties can be

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<sup>64</sup> Appleton, *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1875.

<sup>65</sup> *Ohio State Journal*, June 3.

<sup>66</sup> *McConnelsville Herald*, June 11.

divided, save that of finance. If the Republican platform in this respect is indorsed, there is no reason why we should have two political organizations in Ohio."<sup>67</sup>

A few days later, June 17, the Democratic state convention met in Columbus. A spirit of elation was exhibited because of the favorable prospects of the party in the coming election, but underlying this there was a feeling of intense excitement because of the questions which it was foreseen would come before the convention. It was conceded that Mr. Allen would be unopposed in the nomination for governor, since he had brought victory to the party two years before and had served the party creditably since. There was no contention over his re-nomination. But true to general anticipation, a contest arose over the currency.

The first controversy came in the meeting of the committee on platform. In this, the hard-money group won. But when the platform was brought before the general body of the convention for adoption a minority report was made favoring what was called soft-money. After a display of heated feeling, the minority report was adopted by a vote of 386 to 266.<sup>68</sup> In this contest soft money had won. Besides declaring that the national banks were a nuisance and demanding that the government cease discrediting its own currency, the platform attacked the Republican policy regarding the currency and proposed that its volume be made and kept equal to the wants of trade.<sup>69</sup> Mr. Allen accepted the

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<sup>67</sup> *Cincinnati Enquirer*, quoted by *Ohio State Journal*, June 15.

<sup>68</sup> Powell, *Democratic Party of Ohio*, 226.

<sup>69</sup> Three important resolutions of the Democratic state convention of 1875 were:

"That the contraction of the currency heretofore made by the Republican party, and the further contraction proposed by it, with a view to the forced resumption of specie payment, has already brought disaster

nomination of the convention for governor and for lieutenant-governor Mr. Cary was selected. Since Mr. Cary was only a recent convert to the Democratic party, a temperance worker and a labor man, the spirit of the convention is revealed in his nomination.

The new currency policy of the Democratic party was one not all Democrats would agree to, although some of these remained loyal to the party. The *Ohio Statesman*, one of the best edited weekly newspapers in the State in 1875, said in its issue of the week following the Democratic convention that it considered this the best declaration of principles that had ever gone before the people. But, "upon one important question, however," it continued, "our life-long convictions compel us to dissent and that is upon the currency question. There is a virtual demand in the platform for an increase in the currency. We do not now believe nor have we ever believed, that the interest of the people will be promoted by flooding the country with depreciated greenbacks. We have always contended and now contend that true and substantial prosperity lies in the direction of a sound currency. Not that we believe in contraction, but we

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to the business of the country and threatens it with general bankruptcy and ruin. We demand that this policy be abandoned, and that the volume of currency be made and kept equal to the wants of trade, leaving the restoration of legal tenders to par with gold to be brought about by promoting the industries of the people, and not by destroying them.

"That the policy already initiated by the Republican party, of abolishing legal tenders and giving national banks all the power to furnish all the currency, will increase the power of an already dangerous monopoly and the enormous burdens now oppressing the people, without any compensating advantage. And that we, who oppose this policy, demand that all the national bank circulation be promptly and permanently retired, and legal tenders issued in its place.

"That public interest demands that the government should cease to discredit its own currency, and should make its legal tenders receivable for public dues, except where respect for the obligation of contracts require payment in coin; and that we favor the payment of at least one-half of the customs in legal tenders." Appleton, *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1875, 607.



are totally and unalterably opposed to drifting further away from specie payment than we are at present. From the birthday of the Democratic party, 'hard money' has been the true Democratic doctrine."<sup>70</sup> It was further stated in the same article that the question could not become strictly a party one because Republicans as well as Democrats were alike divided on the issue. It is noteworthy that, although the question did become a party issue in the state, and although the *Statesmen* remained true to the Democratic party, not one time during the campaign did it contain one word in favor of the inflation program advocated by the inflation leaders.

#### THE CAMPAIGN.

With leaders chosen and issues drawn, both sides spent some time in preparing to carry the contest to the people. Meanwhile the press of the state and nation took up the Ohio campaign. Besides the bearing the election would have on the presidential election the following year, the principal issue, which was recognized generally with the adoption of the Democratic platform, was one of considerable importance to all sections of the country and concerned vitally the welfare of the two major parties. While the inflation demands of the Democratic convention came as a surprise to many even within the ranks of the Democratic party in the state, it was commonly known that a large element was advocating a currency policy that would appeal to numerous groups in view of the existing financial depression. The whole East was startled by the possibility of the coun-

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<sup>70</sup> *Ohio Statesman*, June 24.



try's being captured by the inflationists.<sup>71</sup> In fact the conditions in Ohio were so favorable for such a result that it struck terror to the financial interest of the country. National politicians were not eager to take sides but to some it was impossible to stand aloof.

One national figure that could not avoid the sudden departure of his party was Mr. Thurman. At that time he aspired to the Democratic nomination of the following year for the presidency. He had openly declared himself to be a hard-money man and in such terms that to recant would be an actual disgrace. Ohio was his home. What could he do? The papers over the entire country immediately saw that the action of the state convention had sacrificed Mr. Thurman on the inflation altar and had killed his chance for the presidential nomination.<sup>72</sup> All shades of forecast were advanced by the press as to the position he would take. But a few weeks later when Mr. Thurman began his activities in the interest of the party, he showed that he had not forsaken his currency views nor his party.

As the *Cincinnati Enquirer* had taken the forefront in advocating the policy adopted by the Democratic convention, it led the press of the state for those principles in the campaign following. Before the leading party men inaugurated the vigorous speaking tours that so thoroughly aroused the state during the months of July and August, the *Enquirer* was assiduously promulgating its stand. Its cry was "greenbacks and sufficient currency against national banks and contraction."<sup>73</sup> This

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<sup>71</sup> For example, see *Cincinnati Enquirer*, July 5, 8, and 9. See reprint from *Newark Advocate* in issue of July 5 and art. "Jay Gould's Organ, etc." in issue of July 9.

<sup>72</sup> *Ohio State Journal*, June 24, (numerous reprints).

<sup>73</sup> *Cincinnati Enquirer*, July 1.

theme was developed from almost every conceivable angle. "In the last twelve years," it said, "there has not been the slightest doubt about our money. When the panic of 1873 commenced the first business of everybody was to hoard the greenbacks as the safest and best thing going. They were a scarce commodity. Not a bank in the United States had enough of them. They all closed their doors on their depositors. What is wanted is plenty of greenbacks. Then interest will come down and business will revive."<sup>74</sup> Such were the currency ideas of the inflationists. The distressing conditions of business were attributed to the lack of greenbacks in circulation and the way to get them there, they maintained, was for the government to issue more.

Concerning the economic depression the *Enquirer* said, "Cast an eye up the Ohio River and see the destruction of the iron industry. The laboring people are threatened, actually threatened, with beggary and starvation. What is the election of this or that man to office in comparison with such a thing? It is a small matter in itself whether William Allen or General Hayes is elected Governor of Ohio, but it is a serious concern whether they have the means afforded them of earning their daily bread."<sup>75</sup> Arguments such as this were continued throughout the campaign and many of them went directly to the hearts of the western people.

The Republican press, led in the state at that time by the *Ohio State Journal*, took much of its argument from eastern newspapers and magazines. Many articles were copied from New York Democratic papers that were unconditionally opposed to the Democratic pro-

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<sup>74</sup> *Cincinnati Enquirer*, July 2.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, July 13.

gram in Ohio. Besides the inherent force of such articles, they embittered the two wings of the Democratic party and pleased to no small degree the opposing Republicans. But in this campaign there was no Ohio party paper that led the Republicans as the *Cincinnati Enquirer* did the Democrats. It remained for the Republican campaign speakers and journals outside the state to furnish the burden of argument.

The Democrats were first to enter the forensic arena. Mr. Cary began speaking about the middle of July,<sup>76</sup> but the official launching of the campaign took place on the twenty-first. On this latter date Mr. Allen, Mr. Pendleton and Mr. Walker, of West Virginia, made speeches at Gallipolis to what were then described as "great gatherings."<sup>77</sup> So spectacular was this opening of the Democratic campaign that it deserves particular mention. The people came by steamers, carriages and wagons to Gallipolis on that day and each town or township coming in had its banner.<sup>78</sup> These, with their "greenback," "rag-baby" and "golden-calf" ideas, indicate the popularity of the new currency views of the Democratic party.

Mr. Allen's speech was eagerly awaited, as it was expected to sound the keynote of the Democratic campaign. The inflationists were not disappointed. The major part of his address was devoted to presenting the

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<sup>76</sup> *Cincinnati Enquirer*, July 19.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, July 22.

<sup>78</sup> Some of these mottoes were, "Public property struggles in the grasp of the money kings. We are *sans-culottes*, because Wall Street has stripped us. We prefer the *rag-baby* to the *golden calf*! The *World* demands specie payment,—So did Judas Iscariot. From a subsidized press, the *New York World*, the flesh and the devil, good Lord deliver us. Greenbacks are the Government's offspring and must not be disowned. Greenbacks saved the Union and let them avert starvation. United the West and South rule forever. Greenbacks are the motive power of progress."—etc., etc., *Cincinnati Enquirer*, July 22.

new currency views adopted at Columbus. The Republicans, Mr. Allen said, rise up and call this money they have issued "rag-money" and they charge the Democrats with wanting to ruin the country by letting this same money stand. The curtailing of the circulating medium has already put all manufacturers, laborers and business men on the verge of bankruptcy, and "they still cry out," he continued, "more contraction. They still clamor for specie payment. Now this specie payment is a thing worth looking at. In the first place we want to know what makes a silver dollar worth one-hundred cents? If there be a bar of lead, a bar of iron and a bar of gold lying here, as long as they exist in those bars they are not circulating medium. A piece of pig iron is just as much money as a piece of gold until public authority has stamped it and said it shall be taken for so much. It is public authority and that alone which gives a piece of metal its characteristics of money and makes it circulating medium."<sup>79</sup> This, of course, was the most radical doctrine held by the inflationists but it was wildly applauded by men who were out of work, men whose businesses had failed and farmers who could not sell their crops. To others it sounded reasonable.

In discussing the Resumption Act of January, he said, "The party that is howling all over the country for specie payment passed a currency act in the last Congress and they couldn't tell, to save their own souls, whether that act was an act of inflation or contraction. One portion of the Republican party swears it was contraction; the other swears it was inflation; but whatever act it was they wouldn't debate it or give any reason for passing

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<sup>79</sup> *Ohio Statesman*, July 29. *Cincinnati Enquirer*, July 22.



it. They put off the day which was to carry deliverance to the nation for nearly four years. Now, if specie payment was such a good thing, why didn't they put it into operation right away? Because they know the presidential election would have to occur before the expiration of the four years." <sup>80</sup>

Such arguments were persuasive when spoken by Mr. Allen, who, above all else, was an orator. He had wit. He used effective sarcasm. He was humorous. Because of his deep sonorous voice he was often referred to as "Fog Horn Allen." But whenever he spoke he was listened to by both friend and enemy, regardless of whether they called him "Bill Allen," "Honest Old Bill Allen," or "Fog Horn."

With Mr. Allen at Gallipolis was Mr. Pendleton, whose speech had rather a peculiar tone. He did not follow the inflation principles to the extent of Mr. Allen although he had been regarded as a "greenback" man since the national Democratic convention of 1868. In his address he said, "I speak for myself alone. I do not assume to speak for the Democratic party. Its convention has spoken for it. But I believe I interpret truly its opinions and platform when I say that we are in favor of coin as the basis of the currency."<sup>81</sup> He advocated the earliest possible return to specie payment and said that "we are not now and never have been in favor of an unlimited issue of greenbacks or bank notes."<sup>82</sup> He denounced repudiation. Evidently he was not in perfect accord with the radical wing that had won the state convention, or the outburst in certain sec-

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<sup>80</sup> *Cincinnati Enquirer*, July 22.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, July 22.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, July 22.



tions of the country had been sufficient to change his opinions. So for the remainder of the campaign he did not take the part that would be expected of one so prominently associated with the origin of the greenback movement.

Mr. Cary, from this time, assumed much of the prominence formerly possessed by Mr. Pendleton. He was an advocate of the doctrine held by Mr. Allen and in his efforts he was unsurpassed by any man who took part in the campaign.

Although the Republican convention was held first, its active campaign was begun later than that of the Democrats. On July 31, Mr. Hayes and Senator Sherman inaugurated the Republican speaking campaign at Marion. By devoting most of his address to an attack on the currency doctrines of Mr. Allen, Mr. Hayes began an offensive battle. Although he stated the grounds on which he believed in a specie currency only, and desired an early return to that standard, the greater portion of his speech related to the financial doctrines of the Democrats.<sup>83</sup> He quoted at length from the speeches of Mr. Cary and Governor Allen. He also gave extracts from the speech of Senator Thurman, delivered in the Senate in April of 1874. He quoted from the Democratic state platforms, emphasizing the resolution of the 1873 convention on the currency, to show the inconsistency of the present position of that party.

But it remained for Mr. Sherman, the Republican champion of specie resumption in Congress, to disclose those principles and facts upon which a specie currency was based. Mr. Sherman thoroughly understood the financial situation in the United States and in this speech

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<sup>83</sup> Williams, *Rutherford Birchard Hayes*, I, 392-7.

at Marion he set forth clearly and brilliantly those principles and convictions on which he based his stand.<sup>84</sup> He undertook to explain why a depreciated currency was undesirable, why gold only could be the standard, and why, so long as a depreciated currency remained, the business of the country would be in an unhealthy state. He defended the acts of Congress regarding finance, and concerning the Resumption Act he stated that the reason it was not to be executed until 1879 was in order to give debtors time to prepare for this return to an equal standard. The arguments used in the speeches of Mr. Sherman and Mr. Hayes at Marion on July 31, formed the gist of almost all of their speeches during the entire campaign.

On the same day that the Republicans began their canvass, Mr. Thurman delivered a speech in which he said, "We do not believe in an irredeemable paper currency, we believe that such a currency must necessarily fluctuate in value, lead to speculation and extravagance, and benefit none except money-shavers and speculators. We believe that our currency should consist of gold and silver, and, for convenience, paper convertible at par into gold and silver at will of holder. In this we concur with the uniform teachings of the Democratic party; with the opinion of every really eminent political economist the world over, with the lessons of experience found in the history of every commercial nation, and with the views of almost the entire body of business men of America.

"It has been roundly asserted that the platform of our late convention means just the opposite of our opin-

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<sup>84</sup> *Ohio State Journal*, August 2.

ion; that it means an irredeemable paper currency now and forever. But certainly no such idea is expressed in the platform, nor do I believe it is entertained by a majority of those who approve it. It denounces contraction, but does not say in plain words, give us inflation. What it does say is 'that the volume of currency be made and kept equal to the wants of trade,' and that is all. All men must agree to that. To say so is a mere truism, a mere abstraction. The practical question is, Have we that volume now? And upon this question the platform is silent."<sup>85</sup>

The words of Mr. Thurman speak for themselves.<sup>86</sup> In comparing his expressions with those of Mr. Allen the division of the Democratic leadership is revealed. Many Democrats held the same views as did Mr. Thurman although they did not desert the party. The *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, in commenting on "Judge" Thurman's speech said that he held precisely the view that it believed in. The *Plain Dealer* admitted that there was a wide diversity of opinion on the subject of finance and it maintained that the widest latitude should be allowed everyone on that question.<sup>87</sup> This was the same position that the *Ohio Statesman* had already taken. But such a division among Democratic leaders regarding what was being made the chief issue strengthened the arguments of the Republicans.

There was a minor issue, or topic, in the campaign that played some part in the final outcome. This was the Catholic question, brought in by the passage of the

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<sup>85</sup> *Ohio State Journal*, August 2.

<sup>86</sup> Randall and Ryan, *History of Ohio*, IV, 332-3, says that Mr. Thurman finally joined with Mr. Allen and others in advocating inflation but I found no evidence to support that statement.

<sup>87</sup> *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, August 2.

Grogan Bill early in the year. The Republicans claimed that through the Democratic party the American school system was being threatened. Mr. Hayes stressed in his first campaign speech the situation under which the Grogan Bill was passed.<sup>88</sup> It also formed the substance of many campaign speeches and the basis for many political documents. But concerning the school question the Democratic platform declared everything that the Republican platform stated.<sup>89</sup> In fact, efforts were made by those Democrats who did not concur in the financial theories of the inflationists to make this the foremost topic.<sup>90</sup> Although they did not succeed in this, they vigorously defended the record of the Democrats.

A mid-campaign survey was somewhat discouraging to the Republicans in spite of the efforts of their able leaders. The enthusiasm for the Democrats' new doctrine had not abated. An echo of the situation was sounded in an eastern journal. "The times are hard," it said, "and labor is scarce, and Cary speaks to workmen out of employment that the cause of the trouble is in the want of rag money, that a piece of paper, if printed by the government is as good as gold \* \* \* and that if the amount of paper dollars were indefinitely increased, there would be a universal revival of industry, workmen would have enormous wages, and happiness and plenty would abound."<sup>91</sup> Grave concern was now being felt by many who had earlier only ridiculed the

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<sup>88</sup> Williams, *Rutherford Birchard Hayes*, I, 397-400.

<sup>89</sup> Appleton, *Annual Cyclopædia*, 1875, 607.

<sup>90</sup> The *Ohio Statesman* of Sept. 2, said that the Republicans were turning aside from the money question and were beginning to give more attention to the Catholic and school question. The speeches of Senator Thurman about this time were being given entirely to a discussion of this question. On the last Saturday in August and the first one in September such speeches were made by him in Cleveland.

<sup>91</sup> *Harpers Weekly*, September 11.



ideas of Mr. Allen. "With that frank and concerted ignorance of his which has made him the favorite of the most stupid section of the Democratic party, Governor Allen," declared the *New York Tribune*, "does not even care to consider an argument addressed to his intelligence. He roars out, 'Don't talk to me about principles or theories. The times are too hard for that. Theories wont fill a working man's belly,' and his crowds answer with rapturous plaudits."<sup>92</sup> And it was true that Mr. Allen was receiving tremendous applause wherever he spoke. Mr. Cary, too, was speaking to enormous crowds and from them no discouragement was perceived.

So far in the campaign the only Republican of a national character from outside the state who appeared before the voters in behalf of the state ticket was Mr. Morton. His speeches were not ones that would win confidence on the currency issue. He came into the state to revive the issues of the Civil War. A very pointed criticism, in this respect, was advanced by the *Nation* when it declared: "The currency question is again coming up and is again assuming a threatening aspect and exerting a depressing influence on the business of the country, mainly because the party in power for the last fifteen years has either avoided dealing with it at all, or has only dealt with it in a half-hearted and insincere way. Senator Morton's speech shows clearly that the Republican chiefs do not wish to go before the people on the currency question and have nothing very positive to say about it. They have ten words to offer about apocryphal murders at the South for one about finance."<sup>93</sup> Before the campaign opened the Republi-

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<sup>92</sup> *New York Tribune*, quoted by the *Ohio State Journal*, Sept. 22.

<sup>93</sup> *Nation*, August 19.



cans had decided to send such men as Conklin, Blaine, Dawes and others of equal honor into the state because of the effect the result would have on the presidential election.<sup>94</sup> But the only one of these who actually came was Mr. Morton, and his currency views were of no great aid to a party advocating the retirement of greenbacks.

But the outcome of the Ohio election was giving no little concern at this time to the "Independents," of whom E. L. Godkin, Horace White, Gen. J. D. Cox, Samuel Bowles, Chas. Nordhoff, Murat Halstead, Henry and Charles Francis Adams, Jr., and Carl Schurz constituted a sort of national committee.<sup>95</sup> Mr. Schurz, the most influential, if not the most prominent Independent then, had left the United States in the spring for a visit to Europe. But before leaving a conference had been held at which it was agreed that they would either impose their liberal views on one of the major parties or enter the presidential race in 1876 as a distinct party.<sup>96</sup> At an early stage in the Ohio campaign the Independents saw in the election of Mr. Allen a mortal blow to their party. On July 31, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., wrote to Mr. Schurz saying that, "Allen's election will be our destruction; his nomination on the rag-money issue was a defiance and insult to us, and his success would render us contemptible \* \* \* The weapon with which to kill him is the German vote. It is the only effective weapon at hand, and you are its holder. You must come back in time to strike in just at the close with all the freshness and prestige of your re-

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<sup>94</sup> *Ohio Statesman*, Feb. 25.

<sup>95</sup> Carl Schurz, *Reminiscences*, III, 362.

<sup>96</sup> Carl Schurz, *Speeches*, III, 159.

cent German reception.”<sup>97</sup> Others followed Mr. Adams in urging Mr. Schurz to return and participate in the Ohio campaign.<sup>98</sup> But Mr. Schurz was in favor of leaving the campaign to work itself out. Because of the bearing the contest in Ohio would have on the presidential campaign in 1876 he deemed it sound policy for the Independents, as such, not to demonstratively attach themselves to either party.<sup>99</sup> His refusal to return to the United States in time to do anything in the Ohio contest was not accepted. Mr. Adams and his friends repeated their letters asking him to use his influence to defeat the inflation principles that would, with success in Ohio, gain strength throughout the country. On August 18, Mr. Schurz wrote to Charles Francis Adams, Jr., saying, that out of respect for the opinions of his friends he was returning immediately to the United States to participate in the Ohio canvass. On September 27, he spoke at Turner Hall in Cincinnati.<sup>100</sup>

As a political address, as a presentation of the principles on which the chief issue of the campaign rested, as an appeal to the independent-thinking voter, this speech surpasses any other in the political campaign in Ohio. Before any discussion of the currency issue was entered, Mr. Schurz made some preliminary statements in regard to his relation to the two major parties in the contest and, in the clearest language, he gave his reasons for accepting the invitation to address the people of the state on the currency. He denied that he came in the interest of the Republican party, whose errors and politicians he had for sometime opposed. “It is, there-

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<sup>97</sup> Carl Schurz, *Speeches*, III, 157.

<sup>98</sup> Carl Schurz, *Reminiscences*, III, 363.

<sup>99</sup> Carl Schurz, *Speeches*, III, 160-1.

<sup>100</sup> Carl Schurz, *Ibid.*, III, 161-2.

fore," he said, "no sentimental partiality for the Republican party that brings me here."<sup>101</sup> And to the Democrats he reviewed those conditions and circumstances under which he had formerly joined with them in opposing the Republican party. He recited the currency doctrines avowed by the Democratic party at the time he joined with them. They were the principles of a specie standard. He impressively stressed the fact that he came to Ohio to speak as an Independent in the interest of sound money and he emphasized sufficiently that he came not as an opponent of the Democrats but a defender of a specie standard currency. The major portion of his speech was devoted to the evils that would result from the execution of the doctrines adopted by the Democratic state convention and advocated in the campaign by Governor Allen and Mr. Cary.

It was to no small audience that Mr. Schurz spoke. Every entrance to the building at Cincinnati was packed.<sup>102</sup> And those who were not able to hear him had many opportunities to read what he had said from the numerous copies of his speech that were printed and circulated. Following this address at Cincinnati, Mr. Schurz made a tour of the state. He spoke in both English and German, and to the German people he spoke with telling effect.

The conclusion of the campaign witnessed the issuing of much political material by both sides but no additional arguments of weight were advanced. The work that counted had already been performed. Party leaders attempted to show a feeling of confidence but conservative spectators foresaw nothing to indicate an

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<sup>101</sup> Carl Schurz, *Speeches*, III, 163.

<sup>102</sup> Carl Schurz, *Reminiscences*, III, 363.

overwhelming victory for either party. When the vote was analyzed the strength of inflation was disclosed.

## RESULTS OF THE CAMPAIGN AND THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1876.

Election day was the twelfth of October. At noon on the thirteenth the Democrats conceded the election to Republicans by a majority of between ten and fifteen thousand.<sup>103</sup> Returns had, however, come in slowly and were very incomplete when the election was admitted a Republican victory. In the afternoon of the thirteenth Mr. Hayes' majority began to decrease as a result of late returns. Steadily this was continued until the election was again declared undecided. The Democratic headquarters were closed to the public. People everywhere became wild with excitement when it was learned that the election was again in doubt. With almost every late return the Republican majority was cut down. The whole state was thrown into confusion — but it did not last long. The reduction was not enough to overcome the great lead given Mr. Hayes in the early returns. His majority was finally declared to be 5,544.<sup>104</sup> The vote was the largest ever cast in the state up to that time. In a comparison of the returns of 1874 with those of 1875, it is found that both parties increased their vote in every county in the state, with the exception of Cuyahoga, in which the Democratic vote diminished nearly two thousand.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>103</sup> *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, October 14.

<sup>104</sup> *Report of Secretary of State, 1875, 227.*

Appleton, *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1875, 607.

Governor		Lieutenant-Governor	
Hayes, Rep. ....	297,817	Young, Rep. ....	297,931
Allen, Dem. ....	292,273	Cary, Dem. ....	287,990
Odeil, Proh. ....	2,593	Thompson, Proh. ....	8,630

<sup>105</sup> *Report of Secretary of State, 1875, 228-231.*



While the Republicans acclaimed the victory a great success for the party, the Democrats attempted to explain the reasons for their defeat. Mr. Sherman attributed the success of the Republicans to the speeches on the currency of Mr. Hayes and himself.<sup>106</sup> The *Cincinnati Enquirer* maintained that Democratic defeat was the result of Democratic interference in New York. "The state election yesterday," it said, "was marked by events of most extraordinary character. The Democratic ticket was assailed, and the platform upon which it was nominated bitterly opposed by the organs of the so-called Democrats of New York. They urgently called upon the people to beat our nominees and to elect our Republican opponents. That it had some influence upon the result is beyond question. There are thousands of Democrats in Ohio who formerly lived in New York and who keep up connections with their old homes through the medium of New York papers. We thus lost very considerably through this eastern interference in our politics. But this was not all. The wealthy Democrats of New York contributed large sums in behalf of Hayes."<sup>107</sup> On the same day the *Enquirer* made this criticism the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* gave as the reasons for the Democratic defeat an unfortunately worded platform and a specious charge of improper legislation that played upon the prejudices of the people.<sup>108</sup> It also charged the Republicans with fraud and pointed, in support of its charge, to the fact that the Democrats had carried those places where "brawn and muscle" rule and that the Republicans had made their gains in large

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<sup>106</sup> Sherman, *Recollections*, I, 521.

<sup>107</sup> *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Oct. 13.

<sup>108</sup> *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, October 13.



places where repeating could be played to advantage.<sup>109</sup> It was true that the large Republican gains were made in the cities. Cuyahoga alone gave Mr. Hayes a majority of 6,046 votes, which was more than his entire majority over Mr. Allen. In this respect a map showing the Democratic and Republican counties (see map, page 97) is interesting.

The *Ohio Statesman* declared that the election was no surprise to those who understood the fight the Democrats had to make. "The wonder will be," it held, "that the Republican ticket did not have a much larger majority than the returns at present indicate. The Democratic party of Ohio had not alone the Republican party of this state, but the entire nation to contend with."<sup>110</sup>

And in spite of the effect of the public school question, which it would be almost impossible to determine definitely, the enormous vote given the Democratic party represented to a large extent the inflation sentiment in Ohio in 1875. It was a mere evasion, so the *St. Louis Globe* declared, to ignore, in the light of the recent election in Ohio, the strength of inflation ideas in the country.<sup>111</sup>

In addition to the influence the Democratic interference from outside the state had on bringing victory to the Ohio Republicans, the effect of Mr. Schurz' speeches on the Independent and German vote in the state was of considerable importance. The chairman of the state Republican committee ascribed much of the credit to him for the victory gained and offered to pay the expenses Mr. Schurz had incurred in coming into

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<sup>109</sup> *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, October 13.

<sup>110</sup> *Ohio Statesman*, Oct. 14.

<sup>111</sup> *St. Louis Globe*, quoted by the *Ohio State Journal*, October 19.

the state.<sup>112</sup> But this offer Mr. Schurz refused to accept, saying that he was glad to have had the opportunity to aid in the cause of sound money.<sup>113</sup> Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., who had been the first to advocate Mr. Schurz' participation in the campaign, wrote to him from Boston saying, "I got home this morning serene in the knowledge that old Bill Allen's grey and gory scalp was safely dangling at your girdle."<sup>114</sup>

Although the Republicans were victorious they were not in themselves credited with winning. A criticism of note was made by the *Nation* when it declared that "the Republican party will probably hereafter appear everywhere as the champion of sound currency, simply because it has been proved in Ohio that the cause of sound currency is the popular and winning one. But, having made this admission," continued the *Nation*, "we must earnestly warn all friends of reform against the notion that the Republican party as an organization, such as it is and with its present leaders, is in any way entitled to the credit of the Ohio victory. On the contrary, to attribute to it any such credit would be a serious offense against the cause of honest government."<sup>115</sup> The Republican party was charged with being responsible for the danger to which the country had been exposed by Mr. Allen and his associates. By its failure to treat the currency question as one of prime importance and its refusal to make it in a sense a party issue, the Republican party had, the *Nation* said, prepared the way for the serious assaults that had been made on the public credit.

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<sup>112</sup> Schurz, *Speeches*, III, 217.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 215-6.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>115</sup> *Nation*, October 21.

But, in spite of such criticism, the result of the election was a Republican victory.

One more stand was made by the inflation Democrats of Ohio, and that was in the National Convention of 1876. The hardest fight in the convention was on the money question. The platform denounced the resumption clause of the act of 1875 and called for its repeal.<sup>116</sup> Five members of the committee on resolutions objected to the demand for repeal and offered to the convention a dissenting report. However, the substitute offered by Mr. Ewing, a man who had worked hard for the inflation doctrines in Ohio, was the cause of indescribable commotion. He offered to strike out the clause for the repeal of the Resumption Act and to insert a more drastic clause reading:

"The law for the resumption of specie payment on the first of January, 1879, having been enacted by the Republican party without deliberation in Congress or discussion before the people and being both ineffective to secure its object, and highly injurious to the business of the country, ought to be forthwith repealed."<sup>117</sup>

The Democratic platform went on record as favoring specie payment, but its objection to the Resumption Act was that it was a hindrance to resumption rather than an aid. It was charged that no preparation was being made to meet payment or exchange of greenbacks. Mr. Ewing attacked the platform because he claimed that the Democrats inferred that they wanted resumption earlier than the date fixed in the act of 1875.

When Mr. Ewing attacked the use of bank notes and the clause in the platform relative to resumption,

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<sup>116</sup> Appleton, *Annual Cyclopædia*, 1876, 785.

<sup>117</sup> National Democratic Convention, *Proceedings*, 100.

the convention at once became a scene of turmoil. The galleries became so disorderly that they had to be emptied. Mr. Voorhees, of Indiana, following Mr. Ewing said that New York had led the Democratic party for twelve years and each time to disaster.<sup>118</sup> He asserted, as did Mr. Ewing, that he spoke for the Mississippi Valley and the West. After several hours of heated debate and parliamentary wrangling in which it seemed that the party was on the verge of disruption, a vote was taken which resulted in the defeat of Mr. Ewing's resolution.

It was a mighty attempt on the part of Mr. Ewing and the inflation element of the Democratic party to capture the convention for the anti-national bank and the anti-resumption interest of the country. The final effort was made in the nomination of Mr. Allen for President. Here again Mr. Ewing was the spokesman and in a short but fiery speech he declared Mr. Allen to be the choice of the West, the defender of the toiling masses and a statesman, the compeer of Clay and Webster.<sup>119</sup> On the first ballot Mr. Allen received only the votes of Ohio and West Virginia. Mr. Tilden was seen to be the choice of the convention and on the second ballot received the number of votes necessary for his nomination.<sup>120</sup> Thus this effort on the part of the green-back Democrats of Ohio to swing the national convention to the currency doctrines of the opponents of specie payment failed.

With the success of the Republicans in Ohio and the election of Mr. Hayes as Governor, hard money was

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<sup>118</sup> National Democratic Convention, *Proceedings*, 107.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 137-8.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 144-6.

fairly on the road to victory in other parts of the country. Iowa had declared against an inflation program on the same day as Ohio but the result there was not so important as the same result here. At the time of the election in this state a similar campaign was under way in Pennsylvania, with the Democrats favoring a platform analogous to that of the Ohio Democrats<sup>121</sup> and the Republicans opposing such principles. As Mr. Hayes was looked upon for the nonce as the leading advocate of sound money he was invited to participate in the Pennsylvania contest for that cause. The latter part of October, Mr. Hayes went to Pennsylvania and for ten days toured the state, speaking at Reading, Philadelphia, Bethlehem, Boston, Allentown and many other places. He was flatteringly honored throughout the state, and in Philadelphia a great celebration was given in honor of the victory Mr. Hayes had gained in Ohio.

This participation in the Pennsylvania campaign, and especially with the success of sound money in that state, increased enormously Mr. Hayes' prominence in the country.<sup>122</sup> As the currency tended more and more to assume the aspect of a national issue in the presidential campaign of the following year, the name of Mr. Hayes became more firmly attached to the leadership of the sound money doctrine.

Even with the conclusion of the Ohio election, papers in all parts of the United States began to urge him for the presidency.<sup>123</sup> From this time on a repeated and continual flood of letters, newspaper articles and public speeches improved the prospects of this Ohio man.

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<sup>121</sup> *Annual Register*, 1875, 310-11.

<sup>122</sup> Williams, *Rutherford Birchard Hayes*, I, 407-8.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 406.



And with the development of uncompromisable antagonisms between other strong Republican leaders, it became more clearly evident to the forecasters of national conditions that the neutral position of Mr. Hayes made his chances for the nomination extremely good. In an article by the *New York Sun* of May 9, the situation is portrayed as follows:

"All the signs continue to point to the nomination of Governor Hayes of Ohio as the Republican candidate for President. Mr. Hayes became known throughout the country by his brilliant success in defeating Governor Allen in the state election in Ohio last year. Previous to that time, but little had been heard of him outside of the state; but that event at once made him conspicuous and marked his name upon the list of candidates for President.

"Greatly to his advantage, however, it did not render him so prominent as to excite those antagonisms and animosities which necessarily rise up against the foremost men on the stage of public life \* \* \*. Each of the more celebrated aspirants and their friends with them, would rather have him than either of their immediate rivals. He will be nominated, if such be his fate, as Lincoln was nominated in 1860, or Pierce in 1852, or Polk in 1844. He is that kind of a neutral man who is always taken when the powerful chiefs can only succeed in foiling each other."<sup>124</sup>

Such proved to be the case when the Republican national convention met at Cincinnati in June. Mr. Hayes was far from being the most popular man on the first ballot. The nomination appeared to lie between Mr. Blaine, Mr. Morton and Mr. Bristow. But the rivalry between these men would not permit of the nomination of either. Up until the seventh and final ballot, Mr. Blaine was much in the lead of any other candidate, but on that ballot Mr. Hayes gained two hundred and sev-

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<sup>124</sup> *New York Sun*, quoted by Williams, *Rutherford Birchard Hayes*, I, 438-9.

enty-one votes and was declared by the president to be the nominee of the convention.<sup>125</sup>

In the platform adopted by the Republicans it was declared that the pledge of the government, which promised a return to specie payment, would be fulfilled at the "earliest practicable period."<sup>126</sup> The party was proud of the stand it had taken in regard to specie payment and there was no apparent demand for delaying the process of resumption. In fact, a substitute for the currency resolution adopted by the convention was offered by Mr. E. J. Davis, of Texas, favoring a speedier return to a specie standard than the Act of 1875 provided for.<sup>127</sup> This, however, was lost and the party was contented to carry out the program already begun.

The 1875 political campaign in Ohio had served a valuable purpose. It was responsible for the placing of Mr. Hayes' name on the Republican list of presidential possibilities, which resulted in his nomination and election to the presidency. And it settled, so far as the major parties in the United States were concerned, the important currency question of that time. With the refusal of both the Democrat and Republican parties to accept the inflation doctrines, the Greenback party, which had its origin in 1874, gained many adherents from the ranks of both organizations. Mr. Cary, with his defeat in Ohio, was one of these. Because of the prominence he had gained in the Ohio campaign he was nominated by the Greenback national convention of 1876 for the vice-presidency.<sup>128</sup> In case Mr. Peter

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<sup>125</sup> Tweedy, *History of the Republican National Conventions*, 1856-1908, 156-7.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 147.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 145.

<sup>128</sup> Haynes, *Third Party Movements*, 112-3.

Cooper declined the nomination for the presidency, Mr. Allen was mentioned as the second choice.<sup>129</sup> So, what the Democrats of Ohio proposed gained strength in the Greenback party. But with the passing of the Ohio campaign the greatest danger of an unsound money being adopted by the government of the United States had been averted.

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OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL  
SOCIETY

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REVIEWS, NOTES AND COMMENTS

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BY THE EDITOR

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HISTORY OF THREE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-  
SECOND FIELD ARTILLERY AND SKETCH  
OF ITS COLONEL

*History of the 322nd Field Artillery.* Yale University Press, New Haven.

The Society is under obligations to Colonel A. B. Warfield, who commanded the 322nd Field Artillery of the National Army in the World War made up almost entirely of Ohio troops. The frontispiece of this interesting and valuable volume is very appropriately a portrait of second Lieutenant John Morrison who entered the service from Cincinnati, Ohio, and was killed in action October 15, 1918. On the recommendation of Colonel Warfield, Lieutenant Morrison was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross "For Extraordinary Heroism in Action."

The foreword of this history of 511 pages explains how the material for it was collected:

"From the first day of his association with the regiment, which is the same as saying from the day the regiment was organized, Colonel Warfield had in mind the future preparation and publication of its history. To this end he directed the regimental adjutant, first Captain J. A. Garfield and later Captain G. S. Webber, to keep daily notes and records of the happenings in Section Q. This was faithfully done, not only in Camp

Sherman, but throughout the whole existence of the regiment. These notes were typewritten and kept constantly up to date, in a loose-leaf cover, and from time to time were supplemented by pictures as these became available."

The preparation of this history began in Germany. It was decided that it should be divided into the history of the different batteries of the regiment. The volume contains the record of each of these and of the headquarters company. It is preceded by a "day-by-day chronicle of the regiment." The volume is generously illustrated with interesting views. A number of maps show clearly the movements of the regiment in its overseas service. It is published by the Yale University Press.

In answer to a request for information Colonel Warfield writes:

"The proudest and most remembered experience of my military career will be that when I commanded the regiment of Ohio troops during the late war. They proved themselves in every particular to be officers and men of the highest character, serving the government honestly and faithfully and with credit to themselves and the State of Ohio.

"I sometimes feel that unfortunately for me I was not born in Ohio. I was born July 24, 1878 in Prattsburg, Steuben County, New York."

Colonel Warfield attended school in his native village, was graduated from the High School of Boonville, New York, and later attended Hamilton College at Clinton in that state. He enlisted in the 202nd N. Y. Volunteer Infantry August 15, 1908, and served with this regiment in Cuba as a non-commissioned officer and later in the Philippines as a Lieutenant in the 42nd U. S. Volunteers. He was appointed second Lieutenant in the Artillery Corps July 1, 1901; promoted to first Lieu-

tenant August 11, 1903; commissioned Captain January 25, 1907; transferred to Field Artillery June 6, 1907; detailed Quartermaster May 23, 1911; commissioned Captain Quartermaster Corps November 28, 1915; promoted to Major, Field Artillery May 15, 1917; Colonel, Field Artillery, National Army, 322nd Regiment August 15, 1917; discharged from National Army August 31, 1920; promoted to Lieutenant Colonel, transferred to Quartermaster Corps as of July 1, 1920 and was later on duty in the office of the Quartermaster General in Washington, D. C., as Chief of the Salvage Division.

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*Into Mexico with General Scott*, by Edwin L. Sabin. J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. \$1.75.

This is a romantic story by the author of "Lost with Lieutenant Pike," "Building the Pacific Railway," and "General Crook and the Fighting Apaches." It contains a foreword of five pages of authentic history, numerous illustrations and maps and presents a very creditable appearance. Prominence in the narrative is given to General Scott, Robert E. Lee, George B. McClellan and U. S. Grant, men whose names are now for all time fixed in the annals of our country.

The romancers of history who write especially for the young naturally mingle much fiction with historic fact and often lead to wrong impressions, that fortunately sometimes are corrected by reading the real history of the time or event described. The writer of this brief review acknowledges his obligation to Colonel E. Z. C. Judson, who wrote wildly adventurous stories of the West under the non de plume of Ned Buntline. This stimulated a lasting interest in the period and the men

who figured in the stories and afterward led to an appreciative study of life on the plains with scarcely any depreciation in his estimate of the spectacular character of Buffalo Bill.

A famous Iowa writer has declared that "nothing lies like history" and expresses the opinion that we must go to the imagination for realities. This is a part of his apology for writing a romance of the famous "Johnny Appleseed." While we are not prepared at all to accept this dictum it must be admitted that such stories as "Into Mexico with General Scott" appeal with peculiar power to the young and are stepping stones to a genuine interest in our history. As such they are to be recommended.

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#### SENATOR WILLIS ADDS TO SOCIETY LIBRARY

The large collection of material relating to the World War now in the library of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society has been substantially increased by the gift of many volumes from the United States government through Senator Frank B. Willis. In addition to these publications the Senator personally secured for the Society printed and typewritten copies of all official invitations, letters and documents relating to the "ceremonies attending the burial of an unknown and unidentified American soldier who lost his life in the World War." These papers will make a most interesting volume which it will soon be impossible to duplicate. They will be added to the collection of bound clippings from various newspapers of Ohio relating to the observance of the anniversary of Armistice Day in 1921.

Following are the most important bound documents forwarded to the Society by Senator Willis:

- America's Munitions. Report. 1917-1918.
- Report of the Secretary of the Navy. 1916-1920. 5 Vols.
- Brewing and Liquor interests and German and Bolshevik Propaganda. 3 Vols.
- Navy Department. Office of Naval Records and Library Historical Section.
  - No. 1. German Submarine activities.
  - No. 2. The Northern Barrage and other mining activities.
  - No. 3. Digest Catalog of Laws and joint resolutions.
  - No. 4. The Northern Barrage (taking up the mines).
- Final report of General John J. Pershing.
- Treaty of Peace with Germany.
- Address of the President of the United States relative to the Treaty of Peace with Germany.
- Organization of the services of supply. American Expeditionary Forces.
- War Department. Annual Reports. 1916-1919. (11 Vols.)
- Abridgment. Messages and Documents. 1917-1918. (2 Vols.)

Grateful acknowledgment is made to Senator Willis for this manifestation of interest in the Society.

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### OHIO HISTORY SEARCH TOPICS

Professor C. L. Martzolff, of Ohio University, has recently published a very valuable list of questions under the title of *Ohio History Search Topics*. These number two hundred and eighty-one. The list is followed by a brief bibliography of "Ohioana," including books relating to Ohio history which are accessible in the well equipped libraries of the state. In the preface, Professor Martzolff says:

"The interest in the study of our state history is steadily increasing. The greatest handicap lies in the vast amount of



unorganized material. In the absence of a well-arranged volume suited to our pupils, the author believes no better way can be found than by the search question method. The caution is, however, thrown out that the mere literal answer to a question can not be regarded as the end-all of the study, but the question should be taken as the basis of a discussion whenever possible."

The price of this publication is fifty cents and copies may be had directly from the author.

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#### A HISTORY OF MINNESOTA

*A History of Minnesota in four volumes, Volume I*, by William Watts Folwell. Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, 1921.

The first volume of this history has just been received. The binding, typography, illustrations and general appearance of this initial volume create a most favorable impression which is more than sustained by a perusal of the attractive pages of the work. The material is the result of painstaking research; the sustaining sources of the text are made readily accessible to the reader by extended marginal notes.

This history seems to have been written under almost ideal conditions. The Historical Society of Minnesota for years has been doing excellent work and accumulating the source materials for a satisfactory history of that state. Files of practically every newspaper published in that state are on the shelves of the library of that Society. No explanation is needed to show what a splendid equipment these files constitute as sources of the state's history.

The Historical Society of Minnesota has in its manuscript department very large and satisfactory collections of the letters and papers of the founders and builders of

the state. These are collected in its splendid new library building which was erected at an expenditure of \$500,000. A cut of this beautiful and substantial structure was presented in our *QUARTERLY* for October, 1920.

Minnesota is fortunate in her historian, William Watts Folwell, who since his graduation from Hobart College, New York, in 1857, has been almost continuously employed in educational work. After his service in the Civil War he was a resident of Ohio and for one year professor of mathematics in Kenyon College. From 1869 to 1884 he was president of the University of Minnesota and a professor in that institution until 1907. Since that date he has been very actively engaged in various enterprises, chiefly educational, in his adopted state while still holding the position of professor emeritus in the state university. He has been acquainted with practically all of the men who were prominent in the founding and building of Minnesota. His personal recollections cover a very large portion of the state's history in which he has been through all his later years very deeply interested. He is author of the volume on the history of that state in the Commonwealth Series. He has a pleasing literary style that adds charm to the text of his history and makes the story of Minnesota, as he unfolds it, one of unusual interest.

Minnesota has an interesting history. This is done ample justice in the first volume of Dr. Folwell's work and we may rest assured that the succeeding volumes will maintain the same high standard. The index to Volume 1 is very satisfactory as is also the table of contents. For these, readers generally and librarians especially will be grateful.

# OHIO ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

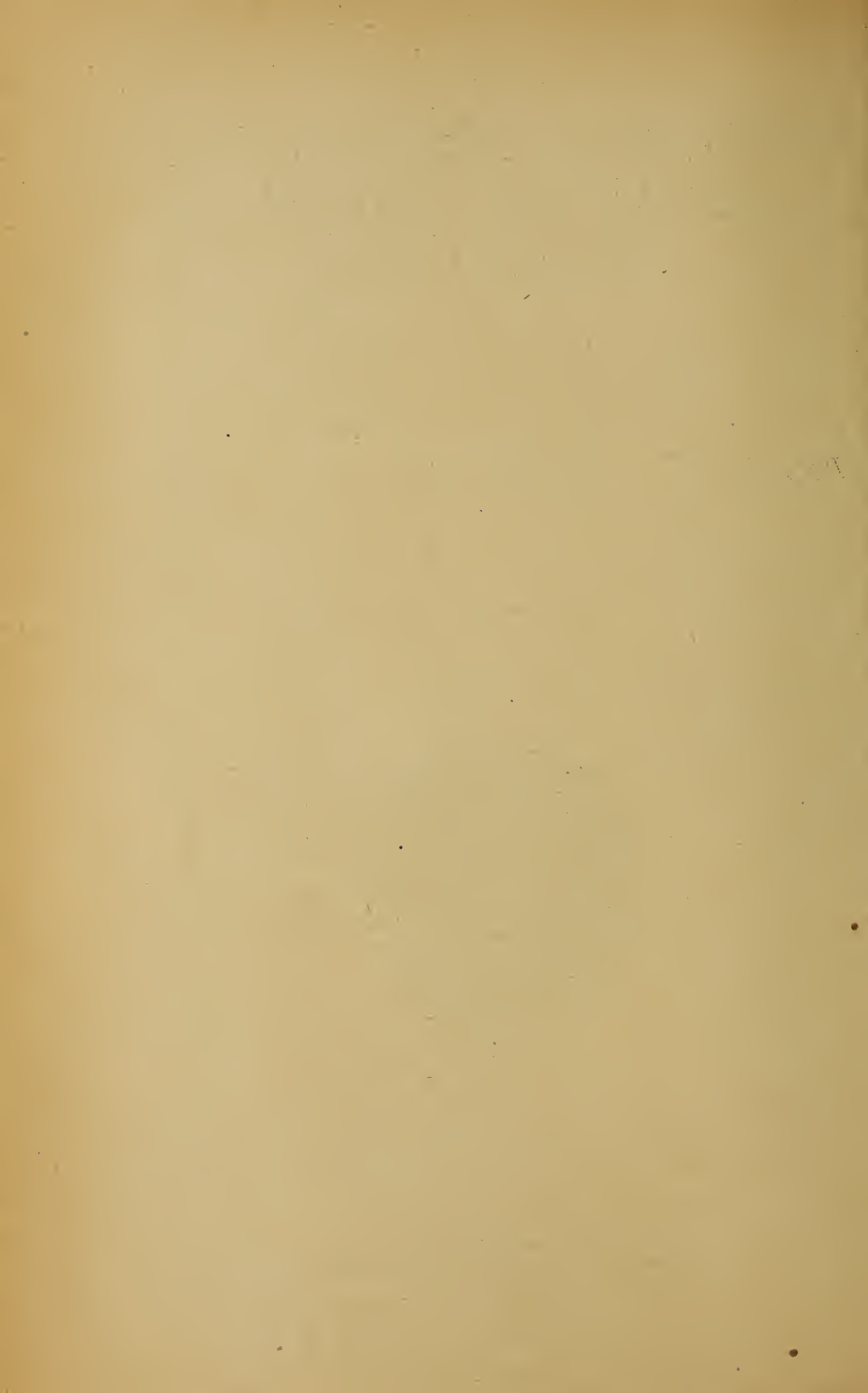
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# GENERAL JOSHUA WOODROW SILL

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BY ALBERT DOUGLAS

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## FOREWORD

With some sixty years intervening since the Civil War; and with the generation of men and women to whom it was a fearful reality almost all gone from earth; it cannot be hoped that many who knew him personally will read this slight memoir of one of Ohio's great and best soldiers of that war.

But to these few, and especially to those who have urged me to use the letters and memoranda in my hands for the preparation of some memoir, as well as to all to whom this story of youthful devotion and valor may appeal, I dedicate this sketch.

In stature General Sill was rather below than above medium height. His figure was well knit and erect, his carriage and movements vigorous and somewhat nervous, his whole appearance indicative of health. His hair and beard were brown, and his handsome, gentle eyes were of the same color.

As I recall him during his visits in 1861, he was thoughtful and affectionate to those of his kin-folk with whom I saw him, fond of long walks and talks with his sisters and playful with his nephews and niece. Indeed as I look back to my earliest recollections of men and events, he seems to me "scarce other than my own ideal knight."

Washington, D. C.

ALBERT DOUGLAS.





JOSHUA WOODROW SILL,  
Cadet at West Point.



GENERAL JOSHUA WOODROW SILL.

## JOSHUA WOODROW SILL

General Joshua Woodrow Sill, who was killed on the morning of December 31, 1862, on the battlefield of Stone's River, Tennessee, was born in Chillicothe on December 6, 1831.

He was the son of Joseph Sill, of a family identified through several generations with the town of Lyme, Connecticut; though Rev. Richard Sill having been called to Granville, New York, his son Joseph was born there. He graduated at Middlebury College, Vermont, studied law, was admitted to the bar in Philadelphia; and the same year, 1814, came to Chillicothe, where he successfully practiced his profession for many years. .

General Sill's mother was Elizabeth Woodrow, of Hillsboro, Ohio, daughter of a sturdy Quaker, Joshua Woodrow, for whom her son was named, and whose father, also named Joshua, came to Highland County, Ohio, from Culpepper, Virginia, in 1808.

His mother having died before he was three years old, the boy Joshua Sill spent much of his youth in Hillsboro with his grandparents and relatives, among whom he was a favorite. His father was a scholar, a man of much reading, and gave his personal attention and care to the education of his son, especially in mathematics, as well as in Latin and general history. To his efforts and teaching the boy gave cordial response, as he was an apt pupil, of good mind and then and always a diligent student. As a youth he was not given to the more boisterous sports of his fellows, though a favorite among them; but was disposed to be quiet and serious even as a boy. Though quiet in manner, he was fond

of fun, had a quick wit and much enjoyed the society and fellowship of boys and girls of his own age. He early became an earnest Christian, and his sincere faith dominated his habits, conduct and speech till the day of his death. At West Point he organized a large class for Bible study and gave much of his spare time to its successful work.

On July 1, 1849, in his eighteenth year, he entered, by the appointment of his father's warm friend, Congressman John L. Taylor, the United States Military Academy as a cadet in the class of 1853. It does not appear likely that he went to the Military Academy from any predilection for the military profession as a vocation. It is probable that like many other boys he accepted the appointment to West Point because it offered an inexpensive way to a good education, especially along the lines of his taste for mathematics; and this would seem to be confirmed by his choice upon graduation of the ordnance arm of the service. His father's careful teaching and his own studious habits and clever mind, along with a first rate physical rating, resulted in his entrance to the Academy without difficulty or conditions; and he at once took and maintained high rank in his class.

The roll of the class of 1853 contains the names of some of the most distinguished generals of the Civil War, including James B. McPherson and Philip Sheridan, both from Ohio, and Schofield, victor in one of the last great battles in the West. When on July 1, 1853, the class was graduated, McPherson, the hero and victim at Atlanta, stood first; William P. Craighill, of Virginia, afterwards a general in the Northern army,



was second and Sill was third on the roll of "honor men." It is another interesting commentary on the often mooted question of class standing as related to professional success that the name of Phil. Sheridan, after five years at the Academy, stood thirty-fourth in the list of fifty-two names.

Upon his graduation Sill was breveted second lieutenant of ordnance and assigned to the government arsenal at Watervliet, New York. He stayed there about a year; was made a second lieutenant May 11, 1854, and a first lieutenant July 1, 1856. From September, 1854, to August, 1857, he was assistant professor of history at West Point. During the next four years he was stationed at various posts, including the command of the ordnance depot at Vancouver, Washington Territory, and of the ordnance depot at Leavenworth, Kansas. It was from the latter post that he took leave of absence; and on January 28, 1861, he resigned from the army to accept the professorship of Mathematics and Civil Engineering in the Collegiate and Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn, New York, then and now one of the leading institutions of learning in its own field in the United States.

When Sumter was fired upon and the call came, Sill at once resigned his Brooklyn professorship and tendered his services to the Governor of Ohio. It is evident from the official records of the Board of Trustees of the Brooklyn Institute, the action of the faculty and otherwise that the young officer had won the sincere esteem of all at the Institute. Only a leave of absence was given him, other members of the faculty generously offering to do his work; resolutions were passed of the

most complimentary and cordial sort; and a handsome sword was presented to him. Now, as for more than fifty years, his class room in the Brooklyn Polytechnic has upon its wall a beautiful memorial tablet to this professor of but three months' service.

From April to July, 1861, Sill served as Assistant Adjutant General of Ohio. During July and August he served on General McClellan's staff in western Virginia. On August 27th he was commissioned a colonel in the volunteer service of the United States, and helped to raise the Thirty-third Regiment of Ohio Volunteer Infantry, of which he took command.

Briefly stated, Sill's military record was as follows: the Thirty-third Regiment was organized at Camp Morrow, Portsmouth, Ohio, and joined Nelson's army in eastern Kentucky early in October, 1861, where Colonel Sill won distinction at Ivy Mountain. Late in November he was ordered to Louisville with dispatches from General Nelson to General Buell, then in command of the Army of the Ohio. By General Buell he was given command of a brigade in the Division of General O. M. Mitchell. He worked hard during the winter of 1861-1862, helping to make an army of the recent recruits under Buell. Their reports abundantly show that he won the esteem of both Buell and Mitchell. From February to July, 1862, he served with Mitchell in Kentucky, Tennessee and northern Alabama, winning distinction, in April, by his prompt and efficient execution of General Mitchell's order for the seizure of the railroad from Stevenson west toward Decatur, Alabama.

On July 16th, Sill was commissioned a brigadier general. In September, after Buell's retreat to Louis-



ville and just before the battle of Perryville, he was placed by Buell in command of two divisions and ordered toward Frankfort, Kentucky, to hold in check the Confederate forces under General Kirby Smith; which he did, repulsing an attack made by Smith, preventing him from joining Bragg. Sill joined Buell at Perryville and in the pursuit of Bragg toward the south.

On September 29th, Brigadier General Sill was placed by Buell in command of the Second Division of the First Army Corps, the Army of the Ohio.

On October 30, 1862, General Buell was superseded in his command by General Rosecrans, and the Army of the Ohio became the so-called "right wing" of the new Fourteenth Army Corps, better known as the Army of the Cumberland; and on November 13th General Sill came into command of the Second Division of this right wing; which was commanded by Major General Anson McD. McCook. General Sill's division consisted of the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth brigades, three batteries of artillery and part of a regiment of cavalry; and was in camp between Nashville and Murfreesboro, Tennessee, until shortly before the fatal battle of Stone's River. Just before that battle Brigadier General Richard W. Johnson, who had been a prisoner of war and recently exchanged, rejoined McCook's command. Sill was the junior brigadier general of the right wing, and Johnson's commission antedated his by nearly a year, so that, when Johnson's request for command of the Second Division was endorsed by McCook, Sill was obliged to give way; which he did cheerfully and without a murmur. At his and at Sheridan's request, General Sill was given command of the First Brigade in the divi-

sion of his classmate, Sheridan, with whom he had later been associated on the Pacific coast.

As one reads of the alert care with which Sill, on the night between the 30th and 31st of December, prepared his command for the anticipated attack of the morning, as compared to what Cist, the historian of the Army of the Cumberland, calls "the criminal carelessness" and "neglect of duty" of Johnson on McCook's exposed right flank, it is impossible not to conjecture as to what "might have been" had Sill been left in charge of that division, every officer of which was devoted to him and regretted his loss. In reviewing his account of the battle Cist says: "It is safe to say that had the line of Johnson's division been properly formed, with officers in their places, these troops would have given a very different account of themselves when the blow struck the right." And Johnson, who knew well his danger and responsibility, was at his headquarters, a mile and a half away, when this blow did fall upon his illy formed and un-officered legions. We shall see how Sill spent that fateful night and morning.

Few, if any, more interesting battles from a military point of view occurred during the Civil War than this along the banks of the rather insignificant stream, Stone's River — Murfreesboro, as the battle is called in the Confederate annals. The plans of Rosecrans and of Bragg exactly overlapped. Each was to feint on the right and attack in force on the left. Bragg got started first and hardest. Rosecrans, McCook and Johnson had failed to make adequate preparation and the right wing of the Union army was crumpled up and driven back to the Nashville pike. Here Rosecrans

rallied his forces, and here the army was saved from rout and utter disaster by that unconquered soldier who later on was again to save Rosecrans and the Army of the Cumberland—Thomas, “the Rock of Chickamauga.”

That 31st day of December, 1862, marks the highest tide, the very peak, of the successes of the Confederate arms. And had their success of the morning continued to the evening of that day, no man can now declare what the ultimate result might have been. One of the profound students of the war, Wilson J. Vance, in his introduction to his book entitled *Stone's River, the Turning Point of the Civil War*, says: “Gettysburg, indeed, may have been the wound mortal to the Confederacy, but it was at Stone's River that the South, at the pinnacle of confidence and warlike power, was halted and beaten back, never again to exhibit such strength and menace.”

At the North it was a time of deep depression. The fall elections had been most discouraging; — enlistments had nearly ceased. Buell had proved a great disappointment and had been superseded. McClellan had also disappointed the nation and had been superseded by Burnside, who, but two weeks before, had been repulsed with frightful slaughter at Fredericksburg. Only a week before, Grant, near Vicksburg, had lost his immense depot of supplies at Holly Springs. Only two days before, Sherman had been hurled back from Chickasaw Bluffs. That December, too, at sea the famous *Monitor* had gone down and the Alabama and Florida had been let loose to prey upon northern commerce. Gold had reached an enormous premium and the National credit had touched its lowest ebb. Gladstone had just created

a profound sensation by declaring, "We may anticipate with certainty the success of the Southern States."

Thus will be seen the force of what the above quoted historical critic says of Stone's River:

"It is in the light of what it might have been rather than what it was that Stone's River must be judged. Had Bragg been able to drive his infantry across the Nashville pike on the last day of 1862, the capture or destruction — whole or partial — of his enemy would have been one of the least of these consequences. The way to the Ohio would have been open and opulent northern cities at the mercy of Confederate arms. Overwhelming forces could have been turned against Grant to crush him. Europe's recognition could have been no longer logically denied to the Richmond Government."

This is not the occasion to discuss the details of this memorable battle, but it was and is some comfort to those to whom the death of young Sill was the supreme sacrifice of that war to realize that he died at a supreme crisis of that war; and that his careful preparation during the anxious hours of his last night upon earth, and his heroic and repeated repulse of the expected attacks of the enemy, just before he met death, were in some part the means of saving his country in that fateful hour.

As has already been suggested, it is altogether probable that young Sill sought or accepted an appointment to West Point for the opportunity it gave him to acquire an education rather than from any inclination to the profession of arms; that upon graduation he chose the department of ordnance rather than the more active and essentially military service with cavalry or infantry; and that after eight years' service when the opportunity came to him to enter upon the congenial work of a professor in a well established institution of learning, he



resigned from the army. It is patent that he much enjoyed this work and won the sincere regard of those with whom he was associated. Though he returned to the army at once when the war came, this was from a just sense of his duty and from motives of patriotism. From this time to the end his letters make it clear that it was only this sense of duty and loyalty to his country that kept him in the army, and that he longed for service in some other than the tented field and the field of battle. That he was a successful soldier and rose rapidly in his profession may seem inconsistent with the fact, which becomes obvious from his letters to relatives at home, that he found his surroundings distasteful and that he doubted his own qualification for the rank and for the important commands which, unsought by him, were from time to time conferred upon him. His manly courage is beyond question; but in character he was essentially a man of peace, a sincere Christian, a man of quiet manners, pure speech, of refined habits and of gentle disposition; so much so that the charge made by Confederate General Bragg, that on a certain march he was guilty of cruelty and barbarity towards civilians must inevitably have been based upon mis-information, at least so far as regards any complicity or even knowledge on the part of Sill. From his first campaign with Nelson in eastern Kentucky to the end his letters to his father, sister and others demonstrated his strong distaste for the inherent barbarity of war, and constant, earnest endeavor to prevent all looting and disorder among his fellow officers, and won his men, in regiment, brigade and division, to an unusual degree of discipline is capable of ready proof.



His men obeyed him the more readily because they respected and esteemed him. One of his officers wrote: "The men of the Second Division fairly worshiped him, for he treated them like men," and then proceeded to illustrate his meaning. Another wrote: "No man in this entire army, as I believe, was so much admired, respected and beloved by inferiors and superiors in rank as was General Sill." Such quotations could be multiplied. The officers under whom he served — Nelson, Buell, Mitchell and McCook — all testify to his worth, modesty and efficiency. One says, "He was the most unassuming man I ever knew." In a letter to a sister, with whom he was upon terms of special intimacy, written soon after his promotion had been announced, he says: "Do not call me General. Without any false modesty I can truly say that my *present* responsibilities give me sufficient anxiety and perplexity; and a chieftain who rules the fate of hundreds or thousands ought to possess a frame of mind very different from my quiet and homely aspirations." And again to the same correspondent he expresses his disregard for "the honor of the thing," and the earnest desire that he might "perform my duty in a less conspicuous but equally serviceable situation." Indeed such self-depreciation appears as constantly in his letters as commendation of his services, care and success appears in the letters of others.

A few further quotations from letters of his brother officers will throw light upon his character. Says one who knew Sill very intimately: "He was a firm believer in the Christian religion, and all who came in contact with him were impressed by his example." Another writes: "A nobler, purer minded man never lived. In

thirteen months that I was on his personal staff I never heard him utter a profane word." Another officer of his staff wrote: "It has never been my lot among men to be so pleasantly situated as when associated with him. I love him, but indeed no one knew him well but to love him."

When upon the battlefield the news of Sill's death was brought to Sheridan, who lost that morning every one of his brigade commanders, an officer who was quite near to him writes that Sheridan exclaimed: "What? Sill? My God! So good and pure a man!"

The night before the battle Sill slept but little. The letters of his aides-de-camp, the reports of General Sheridan and of Major Hibbard, of the Thirty-fourth Wisconsin, one of Sill's regiments, disclose all the details.

He got up and left his tent a little past midnight; and after listening a while to the movements of the enemy on the other side of the valley, he called an orderly and asked for his horse. One of his aides thereupon came out of the tent, intending to ride with him; but Sill told him to go back and lie down, that he was only going over to General Sheridan's tent.

Sheridan in his official report says: "At two o'clock of the morning of the 31st General Sill, who had command of my right brigade, reported great activity on the part of the enemy immediately in his front." Sill stayed some time talking with Sheridan, and it was agreed that before morning Sill should have two regiments from another brigade to strengthen his line. Sill then seems to have visited his lines, to look after and encourage his officers and men. Major Hibbard in his report says that at about three in the morning General Sill

came down to his regiment, talked with the officers and among other things told them that they would be supported by two extra regiments. About daybreak he sent aid to tell General Sheridan that these reserves had not arrived; but the orderly writes that he "met the two regiments from General Schaeffer's brigade on their way to the front." Had the same anxious care been exercised elsewhere the story of the morning might have been far other than it was.

As has been said, the battle opened upon the extreme right; but, Sheridan reports, "About 7 A. M. the enemy advanced to the attack across an open cotton field on Sill's front." In this field, on rising ground beyond the Hardman house, which quickly became a field hospital, General Sill had posted his artillery. The fire of artillery and infantry drove back the Confederates, under McCown and Hardee, with heavy loss. The latter in his report says: "The battle here was bloody." The enemy then reformed his lines, strengthened them with his reserves and once more pressed forward. Such is Cist's account, and he continues: "Again these heavy lines struck Carlin and Sill and were again handsomely repulsed; Sill gallantly charging the rebels and driving them into their line of entrenchments." But, as Sill, among the guns of Bush's battery rallied and cheered on his troops, (so we read in the report of the Confederate General, McCown:) "Private Clark Jenkins of Co. D, First Arkansas Rifles, seeing a Federal officer rallying his command, detached himself from his Company, and, taking deliberate aim, shot him from his horse." The young rifleman's aim was but too true. His ball entered near his victim's left eye and killed him

instantly. Captain Stearns writes: "He never spoke after he was struck. I was within twenty feet of him, ran to him and raising his head, spoke to him, but he did not reply." His men bore his body back some distance; but a third and successful charge of the enemy upon troops temporarily without a leader, compelled them to leave it near the Hardman house. It was recognized and taken to Murfreesboro by the Confederates. After their retreat it was interred by Captain Stearns, and a month later reached Chillicothe in charge of a committee of citizens who had gone South to recover it. On a dark, rainy day in early February, with banners and with music, it was buried on the brow of the beautiful hill which overlooks the valley and city where he was born, thirty-one years before.

Over his grave a bereaved sister erected a monument, a fluted column; broken below its capital, draped with the flag of his country.

Three of the men of the West Point class of 1853, who rose to great distinction, are honored by equestrian statues in Washington; and as we think of Sill, so young, so modest and winning in his personality, so painstaking and efficient, so able and so gallant, we cannot but conjecture what his career might have been had the aim of the Arkansas rifleman been less sure.



## THE PILLARS OF HARRISON COUNTY

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BY JOSEPH T. HARRISON

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There are three native pillars of stone, in Harrison County, Ohio, which, if their age is reckoned from the date when they first reared their heads above the surrounding landscape, are older than Rome, older than the Pyramids, and older than the Sphinx itself.

They are located in the north, central, and southern parts of the county, the first two on the tops of hills and the third well down from the top of the adjacent hill, and appear to be portions of a continuous stratum of said rock that spread above the entire present surface of the county. If this be true, the present inhabitants of the county are all living in basements of what was formerly the land surface of Harrison and Carroll Counties. The stratified structure of these pillars shows that they have never been disturbed by anything to move them from their present location since they were formed. They consist of nothing but water deposited sand in regular layers.

They stand erect like pillars, and had not the desecrating hand of the white man removed, from the top of the first two, about eight feet for building purposes, their present height would be about twenty feet. Their present isolated character is as much shown by the erosion and the wearing away of the remainder of the parent stratum in the great age of their existence, as the teeth that remain in the human jaw, when the neighboring teeth have disappeared, and the gums have



shrunk away. They are simply the hard and persistent portions of that rock which were also favored in their location and permitted to stand in their original position.

The best known of these is Standing Stone, about one mile west of Cadiz, on the Hedge farm in the northeast quarter of section 11, Cadiz Township, just north of the old Indian Trail, afterwards known as the Mo-



"SCIO STONE," NORTH TOWNSHIP, HARRISON COUNTY.

ravian Road, traversed by the early settlers of Gnadden-hutten, in Tuscarawas County, the murder of whose Indian converts in the stockade, in 1782, was the foulest blot upon the reputation of the white race in this country.

Another is on the Woods farm, about two miles northeast of Scio, in the northeast quarter of section 27, North Township, now owned by Solomon Albaugh,

in the north edge of the county, and in full view on the left of the road leading from Scio to Kilgore, just after you pass the junction of the road that leads to New Rumley (the birthplace of General Custer), and is on the top of about as high a hill as there is in the vicinity.

The third is in the southwestern part of the county, about three miles northeast of Moorefield, section 6, in Moorefield Township, and about one-fourth mile north of the old Nottingham Church, on the T. R. Crawford farm.

A popular error about these solitary pillars of sandstone has long obtained, and it is my purpose to give what, I believe, is a better explanation. Henry Howe says in his *Historical Collections of Ohio*:

"About one and one-half miles west of Cadiz, on the northern peak of a high sandy ridge, are the remains of what is called 'standing stone,' from which a branch of Stillwater derived its name. The owner of the land had quarried off its top some eight feet. It is sandstone, and was originally from sixteen to eighteen feet high, about fifty feet around its base, and tapered from midway up to a cone-like top, being only about twenty feet around near its summit. It is said to have been a place of great resort by the Indians, and its origin has been a subject of speculation with many people. It is, however, what geologists term a *boulder*, and was brought to its present position from, perhaps, a thousand miles north, embedded in a huge mass of ice, in some great convulsion of nature, ages since."

Such an error should not be allowed to go uncontradicted, and one cannot help feeling that it was little less than sacrilege to remove the tops of these stones or to deface them in any way. If they had been "embedded in a huge mass of ice," the consequent stress and strain would have destroyed their stratified structure; nor could it be explained how such a cause would

have put them down in their present locations in perfect alignment with the underlying stone strata, its own strata perfectly preserved, and in close proximity to disintegrated sandstone material of similar character.

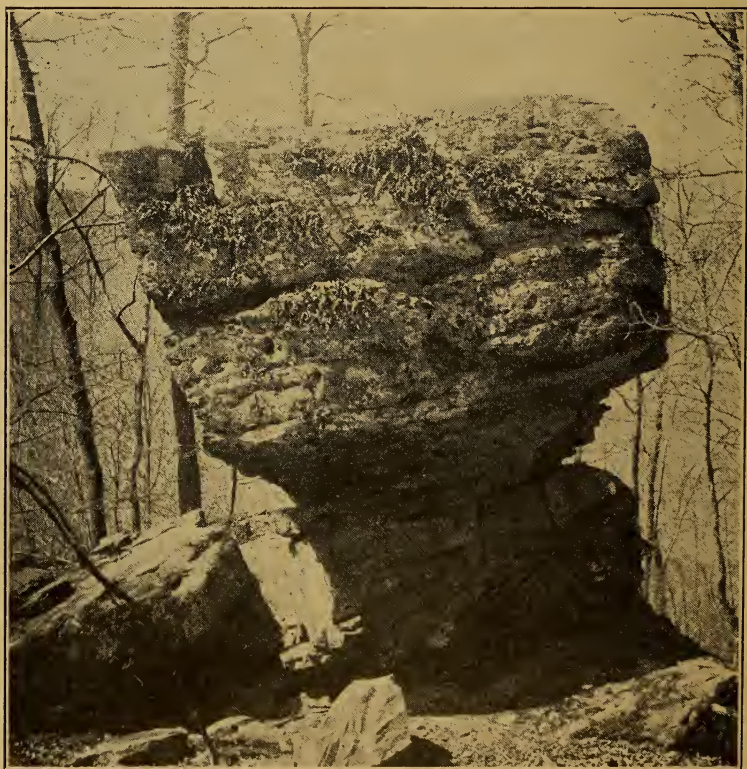
Southeastern Ohio was not affected by glacial action. A glance over the hills of Harrison County shows the tops to be on nearly the same level. The county comprises high land, which makes a watershed between the short streams that run eastwardly and directly to the Ohio River, and the head waters of Connotton and Stillwater Creeks, which flow westwardly to the Tuscarawas River, and thence into the Muskingum and the Ohio at Marietta.

The present broken surface of hills and valleys comprises simply the under side of a higher plain, and these pillars we now see are simply the roots or bases of still older and higher hills. This broken surface of hill and valley is no more than the small elevations and gutters in a grain field after a hard rain, but they are on a larger scale, the result of the erosive action of the centuries. The remains of the Glacial Era are found in the fringe of deposits of earth and *granite* stone (moraines) extending northeastwardly from Cincinnati to Ashtabula, with a great terminal moraine below and near Cincinnati. Our oldest hills of this state are to be found in eastern Ohio. The period for natural erosion was much longer in that locality and commenced long before the glacial era. The deep valleys of the Ohio and Muskingum Rivers are notable examples.

The undisturbed location of these "pillars" upon high hills and long protected by the forest has saved them from the undermining and disintegrating causes



which have carried away the remainder of the parent ledge, which then crossed the present valleys in their vicinity. Had the parent stratum of rock, of which they were once part, remained, there would now be seen many natural bridges of stone crossing the adjacent



INDIAN WATCH TOWER, MOOREFIELD TOWNSHIP, HARRISON COUNTY.

valleys, but when its foundations were gone, the sandstone easily crumbled and fell. The rock and land adjacent to these pillars of sandstone on the present hills have worn and shrunk away and left them as naturally as a human gum may shrink from a tooth, and

leave it apparently longer than in the early life of the individual. Indeed, upon the hillsides near these stone may be seen the disintegrated portions of this ancient stratum of sandstone. The layers of sandstone may now be seen in these ancient pillars as distinctly as one may count the layers of a jelly cake. And they have the same natural dip towards the south and east as the Berea sandstone, the oil bearing rock, which now lies 1100 feet below, but comes to the surface at Berea in the northern part of the state.

In many of the valleys may still be seen broken portions of lower rock strata, scattered along the hillsides of Connotton and Stillwater Creeks and their branches, which have rolled down to lower levels. Remnants of the parent ledge may be seen sticking out of the eroded hillsides.

These permanent portions are nearer the tops of the hills in the northern part of Harrison County and those of Carroll County which adjoins it on the north, than that of the Nottingham stone in the south, and shows about the natural dip of the strata of the south and east. The Nottingham stone is newer. Its top was exposed at a later date. The superimposed earth and rock were eroded away at a later period.

The photograph of the Scio Stone on the Woods farm shown in the illustration was taken September 2, 1920, by Mr. J. A. McKay, of Cleveland, Ohio. It shows the outlines, stratified form and fallen particles around it. It is about ten feet high, and on the top its greatest length and width are eighteen and twelve feet respectively. The figure of the writer in the picture shows its relative height.



The one at Cadiz, Standing Stone, shows thinner layers of strata. It is about twelve feet high and its greatest length and width on top are sixteen by eighteen feet.

On September 3, 1920, we also saw the one near Moorefield and the old Nottingham Church. Its photo was taken in October, 1917, by William F. Compher, of Moorefield, Ohio, and the pillar is locally known as the Indian Watch Tower. It is about eighteen feet high, ten by ten feet on top, and stands on a slender base that cannot be over four by five feet. The greatest projection is towards the front, and the mass is so great above it that in time the whole rock will fall in this direction.

It is located on a hillside in a woods, at an altitude of about fifty feet below the top of the nearest hill. Large portions of the same ledge lie around it, and ferns, moss, flowers and vines almost cover the top.

There is such a similarity between the Scio and Cadiz pillars in color, strata, position and texture, that they doubtless belong to the same ancient ledge of sandstone that once overlaid the country. Both show the presence of iron, both alternate in color from the light yellow of common sand to that of brick dust; both are on the tops of high hills, and both are in grassy fields, with no traces of the parent ledge about them, except what may be found beneath the surface near the Cadiz stone, for stone of the same character has been quarried just beneath the surface in its vicinity. Not so with the Scio stone, for it stands on its original foundation on a peak of a hill and all remains of the parent ledge are

gone. They are the oldest "twin brothers" in all the county,—the oldest perhaps in Ohio.

They are so old and their sides so eroded that the softer parts have the appearance of having been eaten into holes, while the iron and harder parts still maintain a stout resistance to the "tooth of time." If we could unroll the scroll of their history, what a wonderful story they would tell.



## SENECA JOHN, INDIAN CHIEF

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### HIS TRAGIC DEATH

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#### ERECTION OF MONUMENT TO HIS MEMORY

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COMPILED BY BASIL MEEK

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#### SENECA JOHN

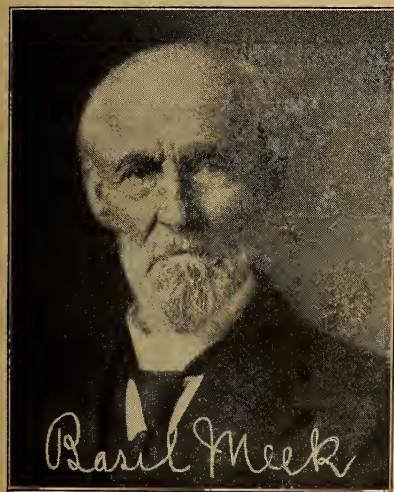
Not much is known pertaining to the direct biography of Seneca John. The most that we have is incidental to and related in the story of his execution. He belonged however to a prominent family of his tribe and was one of four brothers, or rather of three full brothers named Comstock, Steel and Coonstick and himself a half brother of the three named.

Comstock was a principal chief of his tribe. Seneca John succeeded Comstock as chief and Coonstick succeeded Seneca John, or became a chief after Seneca John's death. Thus it appears that the family furnished three chiefs of the tribe.

From the story mentioned, we find that Seneca John was a tall noble looking man, and resembled Henry Clay of Kentucky; and like Clay was very eloquent as a speaker — the most eloquent of his tribe. If ill feeling arose in the councils he could by his eloquence and persuasive powers of speech restore harmony. He was very amiable and agreeable in his manners and cheerful in disposition. These traits combined made him popular with his tribe, and upon the death of Comstock he was made a chief. His credit at the Trading Post at Lower Sandusky was of the highest, and he often be-

## BASIL MEEK.

Basil Meek, the veteran historian, was born at New Castle, Henry County, Indiana, April 20, 1829. This month he therefore completes his ninety-third year. His paternal great grandfather came from England to Virginia. His father, John Meek, was born in 1774 near Ellicott's Mills, now Ellicott City, in the state of Maryland. The son Basil lived at different places in Indiana. In 1853 he was elected clerk of the circuit court of Owen County, that state and served two terms of four years each. In 1864 he moved to Sandusky County, Ohio, and resided for a time on a farm near Clyde. In 1871 he became a member of the Sandusky County bar and practiced until February 10, 1879, when he entered upon his duties as clerk of courts, a position that he held for two terms. He was appointed postmaster at Fremont by President Cleveland and had charge of the office from September 1, 1886 to March 1, 1891. At the conclu-



sion of this service he returned to the practice of the law which he has followed since that time. Mr. Meek was twice married and has a number of children and grandchildren living. He is the author of the *Twentieth Century History of Sandusky County*, a volume of 934 pages, published in 1909. He has also written a number of historical sketches which have appeared in print. The accompanying portrait is from a photograph taken on his ninetieth birthday.

came security for the more improvident members of his tribe. He was peace loving, but by reason of his high qualities and popularity he was the victim of jealousy and envy on the part of his brothers, which finally resulted in his tragic death, near the spot where the monument erected to his memory stands.

During an expedition by his half brothers Steel and Coonstick, in the West hunting, trapping and looking for a new home for the tribe, lasting about three years, Chief Comstock died. On their return in 1828, they found Seneca John chief in charge of the tribe as the successor of Comstock. This so aroused their jealousy and excited their envy that they determined to make away with him, and accordingly preferred the false charge against him of causing the death of Comstock by witchcraft. According to the belief of the Senecas, the superstition of witchcraft was to them a verity, a magical or supernatural power, by agreement, with evil spirits, the possessor of which could bring calamity upon or even death of the victim. The penalty for its practice was death. Seneca John, being innocent of any wrong in the death of Comstock, denied the charge, in a strain of pathos and eloquence rarely equalled, in expressions of love for Comstock and grief over his death, but without avail. He was condemned to die, and was killed by his brothers accordingly, in the month of August, 1828, under the semblance of the execution of a judicial sentence, and was buried with Indian ceremonies not more than twenty feet from where he fell.

Sardis Birchard, cited in Knapp's History, remembered the death of Seneca John. He said:



"The whole tribe seemed to be in town the evening before his execution. John stood by me on the porch of my store, as the other Indians rode away. He looked at them with so much sadness in his face, that it attracted my attention and I wondered at John's letting them go away without him. He inquired of me the amount of his indebtedness at my store. The amount was given. He bade me good-bye, and went away without relating any of the trouble.

"Chiefs Hard Hickory and Tall Chief came into town the day of the killing of John, or the next day, and told me about it. Tall Chief always settled the debts of Indians who died — believing they could not enter the good hunting ground of the spirit land until their debts were paid. He settled the bill of Seneca John, after his death."\*

### THE EXECUTION

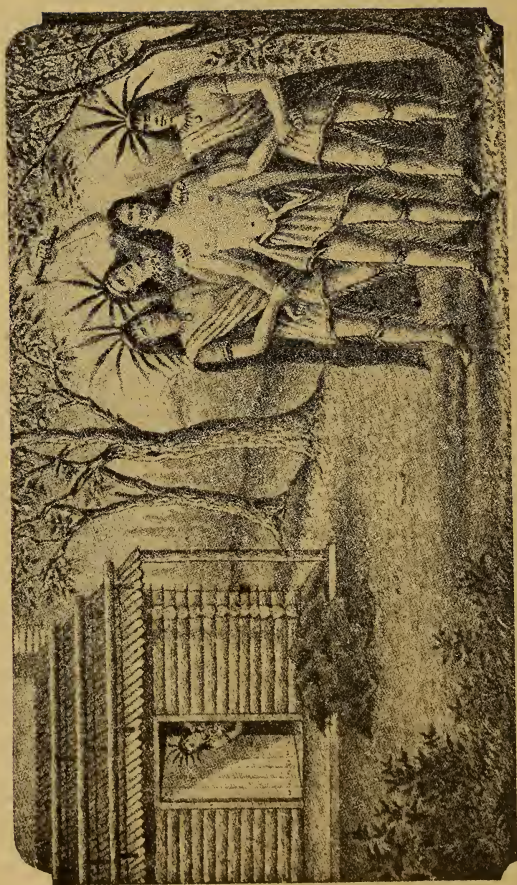
The particulars of the tragedy as related by an Indian chief, named Hard Hickory by whose cabin it was enacted, and who was present are substantially as follows:

His brothers pronounced him guilty and declared their determination to become his executioners. John replied that he was willing to die, and only wished to live until next morning to see the sun rise once more. This request being granted, John told them that he would sleep that night on Hard Hickory's porch, which fronted the East, where they would find him at sunrise. He chose that place, because he did not wish to be killed in the presence of his wife, and desired that the Chief Hard Hickory witness that he died like a man.

Coonstick and Steel retired for the night to an old cabin nearby. In the morning in company with Shane, another Indian, they proceeded to the house of Hard Hickory — who was informant — who stated that a little after sunrise, he heard their footsteps on the porch,

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\*This quotation is a paraphrase, in part, of the reminiscences of Sardis Birchard recorded in Knapp's *History of the Maumee Valley*.



EXECUTION OF SENACA JOHN.

Reproduced from an old print in Winter's *A History of Northwest Ohio*.

and he opened the door just wide enough to peep out. He saw John asleep on his blanket and them standing near him. At length one of them woke him and he immediately rose, took off a large handkerchief which was around his head, letting his unusually long hair fall upon his shoulders. This being done, he looked around upon the landscape and upon the rising sun, to take a farewell look of a scene he was never again to behold; and then announced to his brothers that he was ready to die. Shane and Coonstick each took him by the arm and Steel walked behind him. In this way they led him about ten steps from the porch when his brother Steel struck him with a tomahawk on the back of his head, and he fell to the ground bleeding freely. Supposing the blow sufficient to kill him, they dragged him under a peach tree nearby. In a short time he revived however, the blow having been broken by his great mass of hair. Knowing that it was Steel that struck him, John as he lay, turned his head toward Coonstick and said "Now, brother, take *your* revenge." This so operated on Coonstick that he interposed to save him; but the proposition enraged Steel to such an extent that he drew his knife and cut John's throat from ear to ear; and the next day he was buried with the usual Indian ceremonies near the spot where he fell as before stated, and his grave was surrounded by a small picket fence, which three years later was removed by Coonstick and Steel.

#### THE MONUMENT

The monument erected by the Sandusky County Pioneer and Historical Association, was unveiled with interesting ceremonies July 4, 1921. It is placed by

the east side of the public road, west of and near the spot where Seneca John was executed and where he was buried, being the site of Chief Hard Hickory's cabin and of the present residence of Edwin Young, about one and a half miles north from the village of Greenspring. It consists of a boulder of unique shape, being flat in front and rear surfaces, unlike most of its sort, which are rounded in form. It is thirty-six inches in height, thirty inches in width, and twenty-four inches thick at the base, gradually becoming thinner toward the top. It is granite in formation, with one edge or side a pebble conglomerate the entire height of the stone. It stands firmly set on a concrete base. The inscription is as follows:

SENECA INDIAN  
RESERVATION

SENECA JOHN

NOTED CHIEF

WAS EXECUTED

NEAR THIS SPOT, EASTERLY

BY HIS TRIBE IN

1828

CHARGED WITH WITCHCRAFT

NORTH 30 RODS IS THE NORTH BOUNDARY  
OF THE RESERVATION.

ERECTED BY THE SANDUSKY COUNTY  
PIONEER & HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION



## THE SENECA

The Seneca Indians, occupying what was known as the Seneca Reservation described below, of whom Seneca John was a prominent Chief, as noted above, were offshoots of the old Seneca Nation, one of those comprising the once noted Iroquois Confederacy in the State of New York, east of the Niagara River, called the Five Nations. They were often spoken of as the "Senecas of Sandusky," located as they were along the Sandusky River and vicinity. Mingled with them were wandering remnants of other tribes. All these had occupied this region for very many years prior to the date of the reservation, probably ever since the extermination of the former occupants, the Erie Nation, by the Five Nations about the middle of the seventeenth century. It is quite probable that in the wars against the Eries, portions of the Senecas, and perhaps of other tribes, of the Five Nations, finding this a "goodly land" in which to dwell, remained permanently, thus becoming the progenitors of the Senecas of the reservation. It was an ideal land and home for them. The beautiful Sandusky River was then navigable for canoes all the year round. The river teemed with fish, the marshes were alive with wild fowl, and the forests abounded with large game. It was, indeed, suggestive and emblematic of their hoped for happy hunting ground in the land of the hereafter, in which they believed and expected to gain. In their intercourse with the whites they were friendly, but drunken quarrels and fatal jealousies not infrequently disturbed the peace among themselves. It was unlawful to furnish them with intoxicating liquors, but the law was violated by the whites, as indicated by



the return of indictments against several parties at the first term of the Common Pleas Court (1820) for selling intoxicating liquor to Indians. They lived in the villages throughout the reservation, but their headquarters, or seat of government was in Sandusky County about two miles northwest from the site of Greenspring village. Their council house in which all matters concerning the administration of their government by the chiefs and head men were held, was located not far from the place where the monument just erected stands. Trials for offenses committed were here held, and punishments meted out to the guilty. For murder and witchcraft the penalty was death. Execution of the death sentence was carried into effect by the nearest of kin, to the person against whom the crime had been committed. The similar provision in the Hebrew criminal code is believed by some authorities a suggestion of the Semitic racial origin of the Senecas as probably descended from one of the lost tribes of Israel. Their principal burying ground was in what is now Ballville Township in Sandusky County.

While the U. S. Government claimed and exercised ultimate sovereignty over all reservations, it conceded and allowed complete personal independence to the individual occupants, and complete municipal or civil jurisdiction to the tribes in all matters pertaining to their own manners, customs and laws, including punishment for crimes and offenses against them. They were in respect to these matters an independent sovereignty, or power. This was clearly recognized by the Judges of the Supreme Court held in Sandusky County in 1828 at Lower Sandusky, as is learned from a statement related

by Judge David Higgins in Knapp's History of the Maumee Valley. He was Judge of the Common Pleas Court from 1831 to 1837 and familiar with the facts related. He says he was informed that Seneca John was tried by a council of head men, and that upon full investigation was condemned to die, and Coonstick was required to execute his brother. During a session of the Supreme Court (1828) someone in Lower Sandusky caused the arrest of Coonstick for murder, on complaints before a Justice of the Peace. The facts in the case being presented to the Judges of Supreme Court, they decided that the execution of Seneca John was an act completely within the jurisdiction of the Seneca Council; and that Coonstick was justified in the execution of a judicial sentence which he was the proper person to carry into effect.

The case was dismissed and Coonstick discharged. No record, however, of the case is found, but there is no doubt as to the fact stated. Thus, Seneca John, though he was killed on a false charge prompted by jealousy, yet as the form of the law of the tribe had been followed in his trial and condemnation, his execution was not regarded as murder in the legal sense. It was, however, cold blooded murder morally. Here as formerly, in a bigoted portion of so-called civilized people, of our own country, cold blooded murders were committed in the name of punishment for this so-called crime of witchcraft.

#### THE RESERVATION

In 1817, by treaty the Indians ceded to the United States all their claim to lands in Ohio, except certain reservations. Among these was that known as the

Seneca Reservation. This consisted as finally concluded of 40,000 acres on the east side of the Sandusky River in the counties of Sandusky and Seneca. About one-fourth of the area was in Sandusky County. The boundaries of the reservation may be described as follows:

Commencing on the east bank of the Sandusky River in Ballville Township, Sandusky County opposite the mouth of Wolf Creek, running thence east through the north parts of sections 29, 28, 26, and 25 in said township, and section 30, 29, 28 and into the northwest quarter of section 27 in Green Creek Township, thence through the west parts of said section 27, and section 34 in Green Creek Township south to the boundary lines between Sandusky and Seneca Counties, thence continuing south centrally, through the townships of Adams and Scipio in Seneca County to a point in the latter township on the line between sections 9 and 10 from which point a line running straight west strikes a point 80 rods south of the south line of section 8 in Clinton Township on the east bank of the Sandusky River, and thence northerly along the meandering of the river in said counties of Seneca and Sandusky to the place of beginning.

Owing to the increasing white settlements about the reservation, with the consequent encroachments of civilization on the savage life of the occupants and disappearance of game, the reservation was becoming unsuitable as an abode for them, and accordingly they decided to abandon it for a home in the West beyond the then pale of civilization, and under the treaty of Washington made on the 28th day of February, 1831, they ceded the

entire reservation to the United States. The treaty provided that the United States should sell all the land, deduct from the proceeds certain expenses and \$6,000.00 advanced to the tribe and to hold the balance of the purchase money until the same should be demanded, by the chiefs, and in the meantime pay them 5% interest on same. On the part of the Senecas the treaty was signed by Coonstick, Hard Hickory, Good Hunter, and Small Cloud Spicer. In 1831 the tribe in a body, a sorrowful procession it may well be imagined, departed from the land of their birth, their beloved hunting grounds, and the graves of their kindred dead, for their new home beyond the Mississippi. In 1832 by proclamation of President Andrew Jackson, the lands of the reservation were surveyed and placed on sale by the United States Government.

#### NOTES

Judge David Higgins, to whom reference is made in the preceding article, gives a very different story in regard to the character, trial and execution of Seneca John. This is recorded in Knapp's *History of the Maumee Valley*, pages 282-283:

"During the session of the Supreme Court at Fremont, in the the year 1822, (I may be mistaken in the year), some person in Fremont (then Lower Sandusky) instituted a complaint before a Justice of Peace against the head chief of the Senecas for murder, and he was arrested and brought before the Justice, accompanied by a number of the principal men of his tribe. The incidents upon which this proceeding was founded are very interesting as illustrating the Indian life and character. With this head chief (who among the Americans passed by the appellation of Coonstick) I was somewhat acquainted. He was a noble speciman of a man, a fine form, dignified in manner, and evincing



much good sense in conversation and conduct. Some two years before this time, in prospect of his tribe removing to the west of the Mississippi, Coonstick had traveled to the West, and had been absent a year and a half in making his explorations. The chief had a brother who was a very bad Indian, and during the absence of the chief, had made much disturbance among the tribe; and among other crimes, he was charged with intriguing with a medicine woman and inducing her to administer drugs to an Indian to whom he was inimical, which caused his death. When the chief returned home, he held a council of his head men, to try his bad brother; and, upon full investigation, he was condemned to be executed. The performance of that sad act devolved upon the head chief—and Coonstick was required to execute his brother. The time fixed for the execution was the next morning. Accordingly, on the next morning, Coonstick, accompanied by several of his head men, went to the shanty where the criminal lived. He was sitting on a bench before his shanty. The party hailed him, and he approached them, and wrapping his blanket over his head, dropped on his knees before the executing party. Immediately Coonstick, raising his tomahawk, buried it in the brains of the criminal, who instantly expired. These facts being presented to the Supreme Court, they decided that the execution of the criminal was an act completely within the jurisdiction of the chief, and that Coonstick was justified in the execution of a judicial sentence, of which he was the proper person to carry into effect. The case was dismissed and Coonstick discharged."

Sardis Birchard in his reminiscences recorded in the work above quoted bears favorable testimony to the character of Seneca John and states that on the information furnished by Hard Hickory and on the approval of Tall Chief, Steel and Coonstick were arrested. At the trial, however, Tall Chief contrary to expectation did everything in his power to defend Steel and Coonstick.

The story as related by Mr. Meek is based largely upon the report of Henry C. Brish, Indian sub-agent at Upper Sandusky, and supported by the reminiscences of Sardis Birchard. In other words, the foregoing con-



tribution is supported by the testimony of two men who personally knew Seneca John, while Judge Higgins does not seem to have known him but had met and was favorably impressed with the appearance of Chief Coonstick. The Judge might have felt also that it was his duty to defend the action of the Supreme Court in this case. —  
*Editor.*



## THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY IN THE WORLD WAR\*

BY PROFESSOR WILBUR H. SIEBERT

### THE UNIVERSITY'S CONNECTION WITH THE NATIONAL DEFENSE ACT

In 1920 the War Records Committee of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology published a large and handsomely illustrated volume of nearly 750 pages, entitled *Technology's War Record*. In March, 1922, the Harvard University Press issued the second volume of *Memoirs of the Harvard Dead in the War Against Germany*, which covers the period from April 6, 1917, to April 6, 1918. Both of these institutions of learning, as well as many others in the land, have records in the World War which they and the country at large may well be proud of. As the trustees of the Ohio State University decided some time ago to include the story of Ohio State's participation in the world conflict in the semicentennial history of this institution — a story that I have been much occupied with for some months past — I have thought that I could not do better than to give you a partial prospectus of this story. A prospectus presumably contains information about a proposed undertaking, and should present such a summary as to arouse the interest of those to whom it is addressed in that undertaking when it shall have been completed. A

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\* Read at the joint meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association and the Ohio History Teachers' Association, Columbus, Ohio, November 12, 1921.



EDWARD SIGERFOOS, CLASS OF 1891  
OF GREENVILLE, OHIO

Brigadier General, U. S. Infantry. Highest officer killed in the World War. Detailed to lead a brigade to the front, he was mortally wounded September 29, 1918 and died in base hospital eight days later.

prospectus, then, ought to be brief and interesting. I wish that I might hope to be both in this paper.

Certain gentlemen at Ohio State University were deeply concerned about military matters before the World War began, and had their ideas so clearly defined that they were able to play a very definite part in the framing of the National Defense Act of June 3, 1916. Some nine months before the German troops crossed the fatal frontier into Belgium, Dean Edward Orton, Jr., read a paper before the Association of Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations in Washington, in which he proposed that the graduates of university military departments be made eligible for service in the United States Army through an Officers' Reserve Corps. It happened that General Leonard Wood and several officers of his staff were present. The General took part in the discussion of the paper and later was instrumental in having it printed and circulated among army officers on school duty and among the presidents of the colleges and academies giving military instruction.

Meantime, Captain (now Colonel) George L. Converse, long the efficient commandant of the University battalion, was in full sympathy with Dean Orton's views, holding that in case of an emergency that might require the United States to put a great army into the field, our Government would have to look to the military departments of the state universities for a large part of its supply of commissioned officers. Captain Converse, was, therefore, eager to develop the course in military instruction at the University and in 1913 was enabled to do so through the employment of two as-



sistants who were at first paid with money generously contributed by Deán Orton and Mr. Ralph D. Mershon, both graduates of Ohio State, and later through the means provided by the university trustees for the employment of a second officer.

These military-minded gentlemen were as untiring as they were far-sighted: they helped President W. O. Thompson, in connection with the Association of Military Schools and the War College Committee on Education at Washington, to draw up a bill on behalf of the land grant colleges which provided for a larger allotment of army officers to give military instruction, for the creation of Reserve Officers' Training Corps of which the college military departments were to be units, and for the establishment of an Officers' Reserve Corps to which the graduates of the Training Corps would be eligible. President Thompson secured the introduction of this bill simultaneously in the United States Senate and the House of Representatives in the fall of 1915. Mr. Mershon, who is widely known as a consulting engineer, became publicity agent for Dr. Thompson's bill and sent letters at his own expense to the members of the great engineering societies of the country, many of whom in turn appealed to the Senators and Congressmen from their districts.

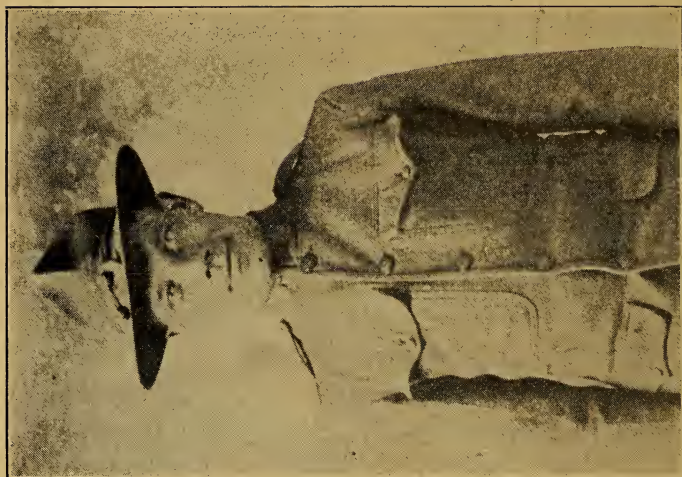
In May, 1916, the four Ohio State supporters of this measure, Messrs. Thompson, Orton, Converse and Mershon, went to Washington and by skilful management succeeded in getting its provisions incorporated in the National Defense Act. In the following September the War Department issued General Orders No. 49, containing the instructions and regulations for the estab-





RUSSELL LEE POINCE, CLASS OF 1920  
OF TIPPECANOE CITY, OHIO

Private, Company B, Seventh U. S. Infantry,  
Third Division. Killed in action at Chateau  
Thierry, France, July 15, 1918.



STANLEY WILLIAMS MAUCK, CLASS OF 1918  
OF BURTON, OHIO

Private, Company D, Sixth U. S. Engineers.  
Killed by shell at Amiens, March 30, 1918.

lishment of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps at educational institutions, under Section 40 of the Defense Act. This section authorized the President of the United States to found and maintain a division of the Training Corps at State universities and other land grant institutions, with the object of preparing students to perform the duties of commissioned officers in the military forces of the United States. When, therefore, the Government sent the young men who had received some training in the military departments of the Ohio State University and other similar institutions to the Reserve Officers' training camps, it was virtually carrying into effect a plan that had been devised on Ohio State's campus, carried to the national capital by its authors, and there enacted into law. I will leave it to you to decide whether the plan worked or not.

#### THE MOBILIZATION OF THE UNIVERSITY.

Early in May, 1915, the *Lusitania* was torpedoed and sunk off the Irish coast, and more than one hundred American passengers lost their lives. This was the first of a series of gratuitous, ruthless, and irrational acts against the people of the United States by the German Government and its sympathizers and agents in this country, which led to the severing of diplomatic relations, February 3, 1917.

At the end of March, 1917, Dean Orton and Captain Converse prepared a circular letter or call to all commissioned officers of the University Battalion since 1890, appealing to them to offer their services to the Government through the Officers' Reserve Corps. This letter was submitted to the University Faculty on April 2, that is, on the very day on which President Wilson

read his message to Congress, urging a declaration of war. After being approved by the Trustees, this letter was mailed out to 4,500 graduates and former students of the University, and the list of these men with information concerning their education and military training was sent to the War Department, to which the suggestion was made that they be given an opportunity to apply for commissions or for entrance to training camps. A large proportion of these men responded to the University's call, and promptly entered the service.

Not only did the University thus mobilize its graduates and former students for military purposes, but it also sent a communication to the president and the commandant of each of the other forty-seven land grant institutions, suggesting similar action, so that the War Department might have access to the three hundred thousand graduates and former students of those institutions who had received military training, and were of military age.

#### THE INCREASE OF CROP PRODUCTION

The next question which the University helped to solve was that of increasing the crop production. It will be remembered that the reserve supply of wheat; after two years and nine months of war, was at a low level in the spring of 1917, and that crop prospects in important wheat-producing areas were bad at that time. As chairman of the Executive Committee of the Association of Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations, President Thompson appealed to these institutions early in April to do everything in their power to increase food production for the benefit of both ourselves and other nations. This was an appeal which

brook no delay, on account of the rapid advance of the planting season. Needless to say, it met with immediate and enthusiastic response throughout the country. The action taken by the Faculty of the College of Agriculture of Ohio State University is significant in this connection. On April 14, that body voted to recommend that all colleges of the University should excuse such students as would pledge themselves to engage in agricultural labor from the first of May to the end of August, 1917. On April 17, the University Faculty approved the recommendation of the Agricultural Faculty and promised full credit to those students, with satisfactory records, who should return with a signed statement from their employers testifying to their faithful performance of their duty. Seniors fulfilling these conditions were to be granted their degrees at Commencement. Within a few days after the announcement of this action over 1,100 students withdrew from the University, most of them to engage in farm work and some to enter the Army or the Navy. At Commencement on June 5, many Seniors were graduated *in absentia*. Other colleges and universities in Ohio asked the University's advice and followed its example in this matter.

The University, through its College of Agriculture, was to participate in still another way in striving to counteract the shortage in the food supply. Governor James M. Cox was thoroughly acquainted with the agricultural situation in Ohio, and on April 11 sought the advice of President Thompson, Dean Alfred Vivian of the Agricultural College, and Mr. Clark S. Wheeler, director of Agricultural Extension in the University,



besides three others not connected with Ohio State. This conference decided to promote agricultural production throughout Ohio by various means, including campaigns among the farmers for increased acreage and intensive cultivation of the soil, the supply of farm labor through a number of employment exchanges, calling on the colleges and high schools to release their male students to go into farm and garden work, and enlisting the Home Economics Department of the State University in a canning campaign in order to secure the domestic conservation of foods in all counties of Ohio. A State Committee on Food Conservation and Supply was formed, which entrusted its campaign principally to the College of Agriculture and its Department of Agricultural Extension, both of which had organizations capable of carrying forward the drive without delay. Practically the entire Agricultural staff of the University became Extension workers in the attempt to prove the correctness of the slogan, "Food will win the war." The women teachers and Extension workers undertook the immense task of teaching both country and city housekeepers how to utilize and conserve the food supply by baking war-bread according to various approved recipes, by introducing the "cold pack" method of canning, and by sanitary ways of drying fruits and vegetables. Verily, it was a great enterprise and as successful as could be wished, but I fancy no one will think me disloyal for saying that there were times when I yearned for a return to "normalcy" in the culinary arrangements of the American household and restaurant.

The establishment of the United States Food Administration in Ohio in September, 1917, did not lessen



the responsibility of the University in its relation to war problems. On the contrary, it increased them by calling for the services of a number of additional representatives, besides five of Ohio State's graduates. These representatives — fourteen of whom are Faculty members — came from various colleges of the State University, and were appointed as administrators, directors, members of divisions, and advisers in the Food Administration. Several were members of the Agricultural Faculty, including Dean Vivian, who had already served for several weeks as adviser to Mr. Herbert Hoover, the United States food administrator, in Washington. At the time of our entrance into the war, the College of Agriculture had twenty-six County agents in the field, this number having been increased to seventy by the time of the Armistice. In the fall of 1917, the University had eight Home Demonstration agents in cities and ten in counties, the latter number being increased to eighteen during the following year. Besides training a number of new workers, these Home Demonstration agents gave nearly 1,700 demonstrations and about 1,000 addresses before meetings of women, the total attendance at which amounted to more than 370,000. The Agricultural Extension Service of the University also directed the work of many girls' clubs, with a total membership of over 6,000. Scores of villages and towns off the main railroad lines of the State were reached by a motor truck equipped to give demonstrations, and a great quantity of various leaflets and bulletins, containing simple directions in regard to food conservation, were sent out broadcast.

While the women were being thus instructed, the

farmers of the State were not being neglected, the College of Agriculture and the Agricultural Extension Service co-operating with other agencies in supplying needed information concerning soils and fertilizers. Again, I must resort to figures. In 1916 the acreage in Ohio planted to wheat was over 1,620,000, the yield being well toward 24,000,000 bushels; in 1917 the acreage had increased by something less than 250,000, and the yield by nearly 17,220,000 bushels; and in 1918 there was a further increase of acreage of 420,000, and in yield of 2,085,000 bushels. No doubt, these increases were partly due to the higher price prevailing during the war, but we may also assign a share of the credit to the activities of the agencies engaged in stimulating crop production. What has been said about the progressive increase in wheat is measurably true concerning corn, oats, barley, potatoes, and other crops.

In January, 1918, the College of Agriculture discovered by germination tests that the supply of seed-corn in Ohio was very poor and quite inadequate to the farmers' needs. This was due to the wet season during corn harvest in 1917, and the early and severe winter that followed. Through the children of the rural schools a seed-corn census of the entire State was undertaken, which showed conclusively that the supply was very short. Accordingly, the University sent its specialist in farm crops into southeastern Pennsylvania and into Delaware to test and select seed-corn, with the result that 63,600 bushels were bought under a special arrangement in these localities, and distributed in many counties of Ohio during April. Thus was made possible

the planting of thousands of acres in corn that otherwise would have gone unplanted.

The Agricultural Extension Service of the University supplemented all this war work in behalf of increased food production and conservation by publishing and distributing about three and a quarter millions of circulars, bulletins, posters, etc.

### THE SECOND EXODUS OF STUDENTS

We have already seen that more than 1,100 students withdrew from the University in the middle of April, 1917. The second exodus took place a month later, when Governor Cox, having received discouraging reports of the war in Washington, held a conference with the presidents of the state-supported universities and normal schools, after which he issued an executive order opening the doors of these institutions for the withdrawal of such of their remaining male students as were not exempted under the policy of the Federal Government. The object of the governor's order was to get these young men into the productive industries, which were being retarded by a shortage of labor. The dismissal of these students carried with it the express understanding that those involved would receive credit for the rest of the year, according to their standing at the time. Nearly four hundred and fifty withdrew on May 15. Altogether 1,570 men left the University in April and May. This was considerably more than a third of the student body, and it was estimated that hundreds more would take their departure before this second exodus was over.

CHEMICAL WARFARE AND OTHER TECHNICAL  
SERVICE

Just as conditions on our farms determined the part the Agricultural departments of the University were to play in the great war-game, so also the new and highly developed style of warfare afforded special opportunities for service to Ohio State's Engineering departments, including Chemistry, Metallurgy, Industrial Arts, etc. One of these special conditions was created by the use of aeroplanes and another by that of toxic or poison gases. When the United States entered the war, the Germans had been resorting to gas attacks for two years, that is, from the spring of 1915. American chemists and technicians must, therefore, devise defensive measures against those attacks and develop methods of gas manufacture for offense. There was much technical work needed also in connection with the production of aeroplanes, ordnance, standardized motor trucks, etc.

Already, in the early part of March, 1917, the Faculty of Ohio State's College of Engineering had adopted a resolution offering its services in industrial research to the Government. Within two months the Bureau of Mines at Washington was engaged on investigations relating to the employment of gases in warfare, under the auspices of the National Research Council. Mr. George A. Burrell, a former student of the University who was the foremost authority on gases in the country, was at once placed in charge of these investigations and appointed Chief of the Research Section of the Chemical Warfare Service of the United States Army. Along in May he telegraphed that



he was sending a representative to Columbus to submit problems in gas warfare for distribution among the University's chemists and other technical men. During the following summer these specialists received frequent visits from representatives of the Chemical Warfare Service. Late in August, 1917, this Service was ready to start the production of toxic gases on a semi-commercial scale; and Professor William McPherson of the Chemistry Department, who had been on duty in Washington for a month or more as a chemical adviser, was placed in charge. Needless to say, the staff of assistants which he brought together included some of his colleagues from the University. By November 1, the methods of producing phosgene and chlorpicrin in large quantities had been developed to such an extent that it was decided to build gas laboratories and factories in connection with the United States Shell-filling Station at Edgewood, Maryland. The men in charge of these enterprises and of the manufacturing processes carried on at Edgewood Arsenal were largely drawn from the Faculty and graduates, especially in Chemistry, of the College of Engineering, and did their full share in helping to make Edgewood Arsenal "the greatest chemical plant in the world." Another notable group of professors and graduates of the Engineering College was occupied with gas research under Colonel Burrell at the American University in Washington, while other members of the University's great family were on duty in Washington, D. C., in various departments of the Government. At Cleveland Heights was another colony of Ohio State men engaged in chemical

research under Colonel Frank M. Dorsey, a graduate in Chemical Engineering of the Class of 1908.

Dean Orton, of the College of Engineering, who, as we have seen, had been active in framing and passing the National Defense Act, was commissioned a major in the Quarter Master Officers' Reserve Corps in January, 1917, and after serving as assistant to Lieutenant Colonel Chauncey B. Baker of the Regular Army, another Ohio State graduate, was given the task of standardizing motor trucks for Army use. Later he was assigned other important duties in connection with the Motor Transport Service, being assisted by certain Ohio State men.

Several members of the Engineering Faculty were engaged in radio development work in Government laboratories in Washington, either under the Signal Corps or under the Radio Division of the Bureau of Standards. Benjamin G. Lamme, '88, and Ralph D. Mershon, '90, both noted electrical engineers, served on the Naval Advisory Board. Major General William C. Langfitt, '80, of the Regular Army, was overseas as chief of staff of all lines of railway communication, chief of utilities, and chief engineer officer, and was in charge of light railways.

#### MEDICAL, DENTAL AND VETERINARY SERVICE

The Faculty members and the graduates of the Medical, Dental, and Veterinary colleges of the University had, of course, their lines of service determined for them by their respective professions. Numbers of them enlisted in the Medical Reserve Corps, and saw active service in the camps or overseas, in base and other

hospitals. Fully one-third of the staff of the larger of Ohio State's colleges of Medicine went into active service, and many more would have gone, except that the Government created lists of "essential teachers" late in July, 1918, and thus prevented them from enlisting. This was true of a number of teachers in the colleges of Veterinary Medicine, Dentistry, and Homœopathic Medicine of Ohio State and of various instructors in similar institutions elsewhere. Three-fourths of those Faculty members of our college of Medicine who went into service, were commissioned as medical officers in the Army and the other fourth in the Navy. These men served as members of draft boards, as sanitary inspectors, camp and division surgeons, surgeons on transports and combat ships, battalion surgeons on the battle line in France, and as officers in charge of regimental first aid stations, in field hospitals, base hospitals, regimental infirmaries, and evacuation hospitals. The Medical College officered and manned a Naval Reserve Force medical unit from its Faculty and students, with a personnel of about forty. This unit was assigned for duty to Hampton Roads, Va., where the Navy had a training camp for 30,000 men and an air station, the University Medical Unit being officially known as the United States Naval Hospital No. 5.

Dr. H. H. Snively, '95, now director of Health of Ohio, who was with the Thirty-seventh Division in France and Belgium, had command of the hospital section of the 112th Sanitary Train and for part of the time of the Sanitary Train itself. The hospital section consisted of the 145th, 146th, 147th, and 148th Field hospitals composed mostly of students from six different

Ohio colleges, the officers being graduates of the College of Medicine of Ohio State. Most of the Ohio State students were members of the 146th Field Hospital. From July, 1918, until the Armistice was signed these hospitals, Colonel Snively relates, "were subjected at all hours of the day and night to some form of enemy activity." Thousands of sick and wounded passed through them on the way back from the front. At the time of the Ypres-Lys offensive in Belgium these field hospitals had the exciting experience of being moved by Packard trucks at top speed from Toul to the Belgian front to participate in the closing battles of that offensive. After the close of the war on the west front, Colonel Snively went as chief of staff of the American Expedition to Poland to combat typhus fever. He equipped and inspected hospitals in different parts of Poland, and helped to organize the Polish Red Cross, with which he served in the campaign against Kiev. He commanded a large evacuation hospital at the railway station in Kiev, besides serving in other hospitals and in the siege of Warsaw. These statements will have to suffice in illustration of the kinds of service also rendered by the representatives of the College of Homœopathic Medicine and the College of Dentistry.

Concerning the College of Veterinary Medicine some additional remarks are necessary. The Veterinary Service in the Regular Army constituted a corps in the Medical Department of the Army. Six members of the Veterinary Faculty received commissions, Dean David S. White being also appointed a member of the Advisory Board to the Surgeon General. This board adopted, with some modifications, the organization of



the British Veterinary Service. Later Dean White was placed in charge of veterinary supplies and equipment, with headquarters at Washington. Next he devoted his efforts to the creation of combat equipment for veterinary units in the field, and, after organizing a veterinary school for commissioned officers at Camp Greenleaf, Ga., he was sent to join the American Expeditionary Forces in France, and perfected the organization of the United States Veterinary Service there. Two hundred and three graduates of the Veterinary College—nearly one-third of the total number—entered the Army and were in active service, one hundred and eighty-seven receiving commissions.

#### OVERSEAS AND AT THE FRONT

According to individual war-record cards in the University's possession, Ohio State had nearly 5,000 men in all branches of the service. Of these at least 1,300 were sent overseas. According to Professor E. H. McNeal, who has worked out the story of the University men overseas with great thoroughness and to whom I am indebted for the facts contained in this part of my paper, Ohio State had men in every branch of the service in Europe and in every action. But few of these men belonged to the First Division, A. E. F., which landed in France in June, 1917, and occupied a sector in September, but did not get into much of the fighting until May 28, 1918, at Cantigny, where they gave a good account of themselves by capturing the position. A few Ohio State men were with the Seventeenth Engineers that participated in the march of the first American troops through London, August 15, 1917, and one was

with the Twelfth Engineers that led this historic march, was promptly afterward assigned to the western front with the British, and actively participated in the Cambrai offensive of November, 1917, and the Somme defensive of March, 1918. From May 31 and through the early part of June nine American divisions were engaged in stopping the Germans at Chateau-Thierry in the Marne offensive, towards Paris as the objective. According to my incomplete returns, seventy-eight Ohio State men were in the engagements of this region, which are collectively known as the second battle of the Marne. This was really the turning-point in the war, when the Germans lost all they had gained in the preceding month. Colonel Benson W. Hough, a graduate of the Law School, was in command of the 166th Infantry in this battle. After the victory on the Marne the Allies took and kept the offensive. It was at this time also that a separate American Army was organized, which conducted the St. Mihiel campaign and wiped out the salient bearing that name between September 12 and 16. One hundred and five Ohio State men record their participation in this successful undertaking. The great American contribution to the Allied cause was to come, however, in the participation of the Americans in Marshal Foch's general offensive of September 26 to November 11, with Sedan as its objective. The American divisions, twenty-three in number, took over the front from the Argonne Forest to the River Moselle. The only reason that Sedan was not taken was the signing of the Armistice. There were thirty-seven University men in this fighting, most of whom belonged to the Thirty-seventh Division, or old Ohio National

Guard. There were some Ohio State men also in the Somme offensive, on the British front, September 27 to October 18, which broke the Hindenburg line between Cambrai and St. Quentin. Colonel Stanley H. Ford, an Arts College man of the class of 1898 and for years an officer in the Regular Army, was chief of staff of the Twenty-seventh Division and was in this campaign, as was also the 301st Heavy Tank Battalion, "the only American heavy tank unit," says Professor McNeal, "to get into action."

Two American divisions, the Thirty-seventh and the Ninety-first, took part with the Sixth French and the Second British Army in the Ypres-Lys campaign, October 30 to November 11, which expelled the Germans from Belgium. We had at least seventy-one men in this offensive.

The 332nd Regiment of the Eighty-third American Division, containing twenty-eight of Ohio State's men, was sent to defend the Piave River in Italy in July, 1918. They were in the battle of Vittorio Veneto and other engagements, which resulted in the retreat of the Austrians. After the Armistice the 332nd served as part of the Italian Army of Occupation.

Two hundred University men accompanied the American Army of Occupation into Germany, which began its march to the Rhine on November 17, and crossed the German frontier on December 1. By the 10th of the latter month it was in possession of Coblenz and the neighboring region.

Our records show the following numbers of men of the various branches of technical service on overseas duty:

258 in the Medical Corps.

151 in the Engineering Corps.

110 in different kinds of Aviation Service.

69 in the Quartermaster Corps.

51 in the Veterinary Corps.

40 in the Signal Corps.

37 in the Dental Corps, and lesser numbers in the other branches.

Eighty-eight men received citations and decorations, and the names of one hundred and five appear on the University's Roll of Honor. Ohio State University will ever cherish the memory of its heroic dead.

"Oh valiant hearts, who to your glory came,  
Through dust of conflict and through battle flame,  
Tranquil you lie, your knightly virtue proved  
Your memory hallowed in the land you loved."





## CHARACTER SKETCH OF GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT

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BY JUDGE HUGH L. NICHOLS,

*Chairman of the U. S. Grant Memorial Centenary Association.*

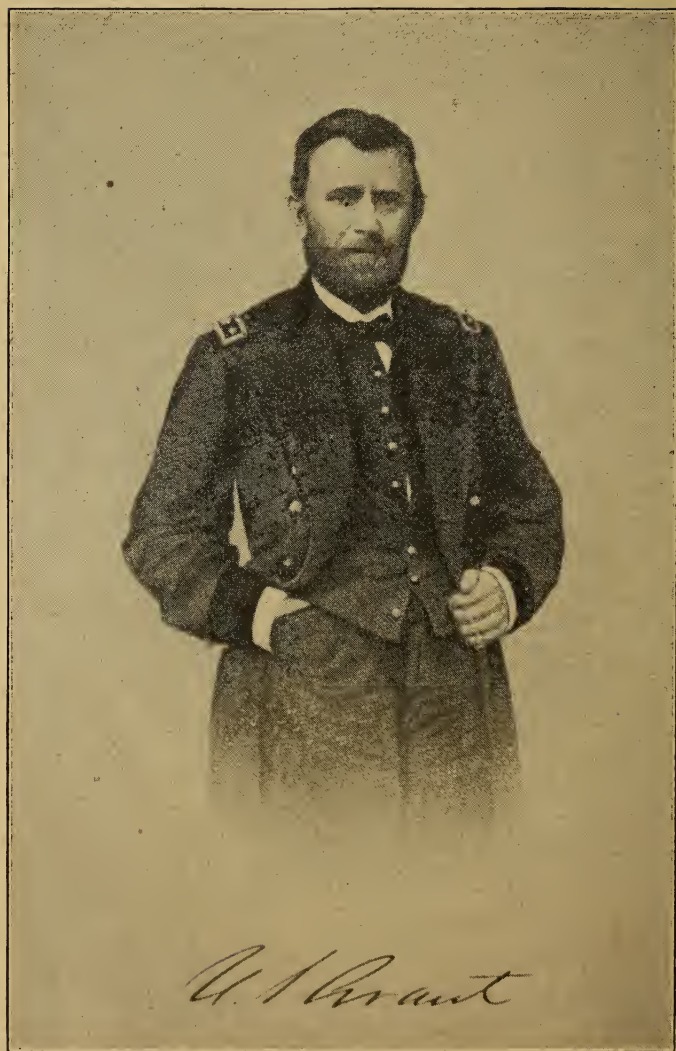
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My earlier life was spent at New Richmond, Clermont County, Ohio, on the banks of the Ohio River, five miles west of Point Pleasant, where Ohio's greatest son first saw the light of day.

As a youth I was greatly interestd in General Grant, always having regarded him — and it would seem, rightly — as Ohio's most famous citizen, and since he was unquestionably Clermont County's greatest son I have made some study, beginning in those early days, of his life.

In July, 1885, on the occasion of his death, I chanced to be Clermont County correspondent for a Cincinnati paper and following instructions went about the county and gathered items of information that had, perhaps, theretofore been unpublished, having to do with his early life. At that time I met an old uncle of the General, bearing the name of Samuel Simpson, who, although greatly advanced in years, had a clear mind and perfect recollection of the early days of his distinguished nephew. In fact, Samuel Simpson had been an inmate of the home of General Grant, being at that period of his life unmarried and remaining a bachelor for many years thereafter.

Among many interesting facts narrated to me on this occasion were some circumstances relating to the



time when the boy was notified by the Washington authorities that he had been nominated by General Hamer as a cadet to the United States Military Academy at West Point. This old gentleman informed me that he prepared with his own hands a rude trunk to hold the few belongings of the boy, who was then about to leave home for practically the first time, on a long journey. It appeared that the boy bore the name, as given in the family Bible, of Hiram Ulysses Grant, and after the trunk had been prepared (the uncle of the boy said) he started to stencil on it the initials of its owner, but to their amazement they found that the boy would go to West Point with a trunk bearing the initials, "H. U. G." It was agreed between the uncle and the nephew that a boy going there with such initials would probably undergo a double dose of hazing, and without parental authority they decided to change the initials from "H. U." to "U. H.", thus relieving the boy of that handicap.

Upon his arrival at West Point and preparing to matriculate, he wrote his new name, and the commander observing his signature informed him that the credentials from Washington gave his name as "Ulysses Simpson Grant." When young Grant demurred he was informed that the only way his name could be changed was by special order from the War Department, and so it was that for the second time within a few weeks he had the unique experience of having his name changed. This latter change, I hope to demonstrate, was prophetic of the boy's future, if not providential. In using these new initials, "U. S.", I wish to portray, if I may, the characteristics he developed as he approached and reached his greatness — in a military sense, at least.

Naturally, it was not long until his associates at West Point, knowing his initials, dubbed him, "Uncle Sam Grant", and along with it, "United States Grant." Carrying the thought a little further, I wish to present in this little sketch this great man as his character unfolded, especially in connection with his military career, under the following heads: "Unconditional Surrender"; "Unprofane Speech"; "Unusual Silence"; "Unaffected Simplicity"; "Unparalleled Samaritan"; "Unsurpassed Sepulchre".

*"Unconditional Surrender."*

The first great victory for the northern armies in the period of the Civil War was the capture of Fort Henry and Fort Donelson, thus gaining control to the North of one of the great southern rivers. On this occasion the terms sent to General Simon Bolivar Buckner, by U. S. Grant, Brigadier-General, then in command of the besieging forces of the North, included this famous sentence — "No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works."

Thereafter and until the end of his days — and probably to the end of all history — General Grant has been and will be known as "Unconditional Surrender Grant."

*"Unprofane Speech."*

We are wont to associate with military commanders violent tempers and profanity under the excitement of battle. But General Grant has said of himself in his memoirs (not in any effort to present himself as an unco-good man, but in a way that carries conviction), speaking of his first acquaintance with the Mexican mule at the time when the forces of the United States



had invaded Mexico, that the invading forces were dependent upon the Mexican mule for their transportation and some of the drivers used language at times of a rather risqué character and he then said that while *he did not recollect that he had ever used a profane word in his life*, he had no disposition to criticize the drivers under the circumstances.

It is also related by General Horace Porter that during the battle of the Wilderness one evening the staff of General Grant had gathered in his tent and an officer with a reputation as a teller of stories of rather an off-color, looking around the room and saying that there were no ladies present, started to tell a story the character, which, from his unsavory reputation in that respect was discounted to some extent, whereupon General Grant said to him, "No ladies present, but there are gentlemen here." General Porter stated that the story teller was effectively shut up — on this occasion, at least.

*"Unusual Silence."*

General Grant has come down in history bearing the reputation of a man of unusual silence. In fact, he was known throughout the war as "the silent man on horseback." This quality, it was thought, was inherited from his mother, Hannah Simpson, of whom it was said that when she bade farewell to her boy at Ripley, where he was taking the boat for West Point, via Pittsburgh, that she gave him a shake of the hand and a kiss upon the forehead, without a word passing between them — although the boy was to be gone for a period of two years.

*"Utmost Serenity."*

It is said of General Grant by General Horace Porter, with reference to the composure and calmness displayed by the great Captain, at the battle of the Wilderness, where for the first time he was meeting that great southern commander, Robert E. Lee, and where, indeed, the very fate of the nation was at stake, that "during the most critical movements, he manifested no perceptible anxiety. He received news calculated to create apprehension, and commanded and gave orders upon sudden emergencies without the change of a muscle in his face or the slightest alteration of the tones of his voice." This same serenity was manifested by this great man upon his death-bed. There was found, pinned to his night-robe, a letter addressed to his wife by the dying general while he was undergoing unspeakable anguish. The letter was as follows:

"Look after our dear children and direct them in the paths of rectitude. It would distress me far more to think that any of them could depart from an honorable, upright and virtuous life, than it would to know that they were prostrated on a bed of sickness from which they were never to arise. With these few injunctions and the knowledge I have of your love and the dutiful affection of all our children, I bid you a final farewell until we meet in another, and I trust, a better world."

I feel impelled to present this letter to the American people with the thought that it illustrates in a most beautiful way the devotion of this great man to his family; that it is an evidence of the fact that the serenity which sustained him on the field of battle possessed his soul when the last great moment came; that this expression is worthy of study as an example of pure and beautiful English, especially when we consider the cir-

cumstances under which it was written and the further fact that General Grant's early education was by no means more thorough than that of the great Lincoln himself.

*"Unaffected Simplicity."*

Appamatow Court House will always stand out conspicuous, in American history. Here Grant concluded the terms of capitulation which ended the most dreadful fratricidal war in history. On this occasion General Lee came to the meeting dressed in a new suit of Confederate gray, wearing at his side a jeweled sword presented to him by the people of the state of Virginia, and riding his famous war horse, "Traveler." General Grant came attired as a private soldier, with the insignia of his high rank pinned upon his shoulder. He wore an old slouch hat and the war horse that he rode by no means satisfied the eye as did that of General Lee.

A noteworthy fact in connection with the close of the war was the circumstance that General Grant did not enter Richmond. History does not record any parallel conduct. There lay at his feet, conquered, the capital of the Confederacy, that for four hard years had resisted the efforts of the North to subdue it, and according to custom, he should have entered it at the head of his army, with bands playing and colors flying, but he so despised the pomp, circumstance and splendor of war that he denied himself any such glory.

On that same occasion he heard in the distance the first of a salute of a hundred guns being fired by the artillery in honor of the great victory he had accomplished, and when this sound reached him he at once

sent his aide with orders to stop it, saying, "Not a gun — not a gun!"

*"Unparalleled Samaritan."*

I wish to present General Grant at Appamatox in the light of a Good Samaritan. It is to be remembered that he was making terms with an army that for the whole period of the war had struggled to destroy our blessed government which we now enjoy, and when General Lee indicated that he and his men were without food, he ordered at once that rations should be served the entire Confederate force, and then said to his adversary, "General Lee, it is springtime. Your men will be in need of their horses for plowing. Let them go home and take with them their horses and side arms, and so long as they observe their parole they may be certain that they will be unmolested by the United States Government." And not one of them was molested.

*"Unsurpassed Sepulchre."*

General Grant lies buried on Riverside Drive, New York City, overlooking the city in an unsurpassed sepulchre erected by the people of New York City to receive his body as a resting place forevermore. Here countless thousands of American people, as well as thousands of those of foreign birth, annually pay their tribute of respect to the honored dead. This tomb bears but one inscription, the words of the dying General, uttered with respect to his feelings toward the South — "Let us have peace."

These words are strikingly apropos of the situation that exists in the United States today, happily not with respect to the southern people, our sectional differences



with them having long since been settled, but with the broader world outlook. It would seem to have been a legacy left by the dying man to his fellow countrymen, into the possession of which we are just now coming.



### THREE ANTI-SLAVERY NEWSPAPERS\*

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Published in Ohio Prior to 1823.

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BY ANNETTA C. WALSH

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The names of three editors of newspapers published in Ohio during the first quarter of the nineteenth century are closely associated with the growth of the abolition movement in the United States. The names of these editors are Charles Osborn, Elisha Bates and Benjamin Lundy; and to two of them, at least, Osborn<sup>1</sup> and Lundy,<sup>2</sup> is attributed the honor of having been the originator of the anti-slavery movement in this country.

These three men were Quakers and their work as editors is clearly influenced by their religious principles. Mount Pleasant, at that time a thriving industrial town in the eastern part of the state,<sup>3</sup> was the site chosen by each of them as the place best suited to his publication. This town was the center of a high degree of culture; it was here that the first Abolition Society of Ohio was founded of which Charles Hammond, a well-known lawyer and later editor of the *Cincinnati Gazette*, was a member,<sup>4</sup> as was also William C. Howells<sup>5</sup> whose

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\*Read at the joint meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association and the Ohio History Teachers' Association, Columbus, Ohio, November 11, 1921.

<sup>1</sup> Julian, George W., *Charles Osborn*, in *Indiana Historical Society Publications*. Vol. II, pp. 247-248.

<sup>2</sup> Von Holst, *Constitutional History of the United States*, Vol. II, p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> Randall and Ryan, *History of Ohio*. Vol. IV, p. 124.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 127.

<sup>5</sup> Father of Wm. Dean Howells and editor of *Ashtabula Sentinel*.

name is closely associated with the early history of the newspaper in Ohio.

*The Philanthropist* — Published and Edited by Charles Osborn at Mount Pleasant, Ohio. September, 1817 — October, 1818

The earliest of the above-mentioned papers was the *Philanthropist* established by Charles Osborn, September, 1817, and by him edited and published till October 8, 1818, when it became the property of Elisha Bates.

Charles Osborn was born 1795<sup>6</sup> in North Carolina; at the age of nineteen he removed to Tennessee. As a preaching member of the Society of Friends, he traveled extensively in the South, advocating the abolition of slavery. In 1814 he took a leading part in the formation of the Tennessee Manumission Society which proclaimed the doctrine of immediate emancipation. He came to Ohio in 1816, and in the same year declared his intention of establishing a paper, the columns of which would be opened to the discussion of slavery.

Accordingly, the first number of the *Philanthropist* was issued the next year. Benjamin Lundy,<sup>7</sup> who lived at St. Clairsville, Ohio, became interested in the new paper and acted as agent; later he began to contribute articles to its columns. In a short time Osborn invited him to become assistant editor; Lundy consented but he never joined in the publication of the *Philanthropist*, for, while he was making the arrangements necessary to entering this new field of work, Os-

<sup>6</sup> Julian, George W., *Charles Osborn*, in *Indiana Historical Society Publications*. Vol. II, pp. 232-267.

<sup>7</sup> *Life of Benjamin Lundy*. Compiled by Thomas Earle, 1847.

born seems to have become discouraged<sup>8</sup> and sold out his paper to Bates,<sup>9</sup> 1818, who continued to publish it till April, 1822, when its publication was permanently suspended.

After giving up his newspaper, Osborn went to Indiana to live where as a minister he continued to work for the freedom of the slave. In the year 1837, when the anti-slavery feeling was growing under Garrison's influence, he was very active in the cause. He went to England that same year, and while there he used his influence to prevent the agents of the American Colonization Society from securing funds for their project.

On returning to this country he delivered sermons in the eastern states, some of which were published in anti-slavery newspapers. During his absence the Friends at their yearly meeting had taken a decided stand against abolition; they had also espoused the cause of colonization, and had forbidden members of their sect to publish anti-slavery writings which had not been submitted to a committee of the society. Osborn refused to obey these rulings, and he and a number of others decided to form a society of their own to be called the Society of Anti-slavery Friends. Osborn died in 1850, counted by the society of which he had been a leader for a third of a century as "gone, fallen, and out of the life" for his fidelity to the slave.

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<sup>8</sup> Julian says that Osborn felt that the influence of his paper was seriously thwarted by the mischievous and unmanageable scheme of colonization, while William Birney asserts that Osborn was always more interested in the work of the ministry than in his editorial work: *Indiana Historical Society Publications*, Vol. II, pp. 232-267.

<sup>9</sup> Not to Elihu Embree as Horace Greeley states in the *American Conflict*, Vol. I, p. 112.



The *Philanthropist* was published weekly; each number consisted of but four pages; the pages were nine and one-half by twelve inches and were divided into three columns; there were very few advertisements in the paper. The following quotation from Dr. Johnson appeared in the heading of each number: "I shall never envy the honors which wit and learning obtain in any other cause, if I can be numbered among those who have given ardour to virtue and confidence to truth."

The tone of the paper was earnestly religious and moral, and although its columns were devoted in a great degree to the interests of peace and temperance, yet it was a paper of decided anti-slavery character, and is said to be the first abolition newspaper in the United States. G. W. Julian says of it: "Its anti-slavery character is quite as clearly defined and as uncompromising in tone as Lundy's *Genius* or Birney's *Philanthropist*. It was just such a paper as Elijah P. Lovejoy was murdered for publishing in Illinois twenty years later."<sup>10</sup>

The editor's attitude on slavery was made clear in the first number when he declared that the time was fast approaching when the United States would "no longer be stained with that foul pollution." In the year during which he acted as editor the subject of slavery was discussed between eighty and ninety times or on an average of nearly twice in each weekly number. The subjects most frequently discussed were the doctrine of immediate, as opposed to gradual, emancipation, the Colonization scheme for abolition, and the slave trade.

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<sup>10</sup> *Indiana Historical Society Publications*. Vol. II, p. 248.

In an able article<sup>11</sup> on the subject of slave trade, the editor speaks of the progress made toward its abolishment by England and France and concludes with these words: "But much remains to be done. The system of slavery is acknowledged on all hands to be an evil of the greatest magnitude. Now is the time for the advocates of freedom to assert themselves to overthrow the colossal fabric of Despotism." An article<sup>12</sup> copied from a Liverpool paper endeavors to show the origin of the negro trade in the West Indies. The action of the Congress of the United States with regard to this matter is noted. We read<sup>12</sup> that a resolution was introduced in the United States Senate (Dec. 31, 1818) that a committee be instructed to inquire into the expediency of so amending the laws of the United States on the subject of African slave trade as more effectually to prevent the trade from being carried on by citizens of the United States under foreign flags, and into the expediency of the United States taking measures in concert while other nations for the abolition of said trade.

About the same time that the *Philanthropist* was established, the American Colonization Society became a national organization with headquarters at Washington, and several anti-slavery societies in Ohio favored the society's plan as a way leading to gradual emancipation. Osborn expressed grave doubts as to the justice of the society's plan, but he allowed both sides of the question to be discussed; various articles were printed favoring gradual abolition and colonization but they never received any word of approval from the edi-

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<sup>11</sup> *Philanthropist*. Vol. II, p. 69.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. I, No. 21.

tor. A long article was printed<sup>13</sup> giving a brief sketch of the history of the society, of its purpose and its needs, and of the steps being taken to secure a place suitable to colonization and of efforts being made to secure the support of Congress. The officers of the society felt very hopeful in the matter of obtaining both the support of the National Government and the financial aid of the public. The work of Thomas Clarkson, the well-known English philanthropist, in trying to find a desirable location near Sierra Leone, was spoken of.

Osborn expressed his views on the subject in frequent editorials. He opposed slavery on religious grounds; he preached the doctrine of immediate repentance of sin, and believed that the slave-holder had no right to put off this repentance by favoring any plan of gradual emancipation. Julian says of him,<sup>14</sup> "While leading abolitionists were caught in the snare of African Colonization, he was not deceived." To him the plan of the society only appeared to rivet closer the chains of the slave and to secure to him a perpetuity of bondage.<sup>15</sup>

He printed statements to show that some "free persons of color" had protested against being sent back to Africa. He also printed<sup>16</sup> a letter from a correspondent who wished to inquire who were the greater criminals — those who had robbed the coast of Africa of its natives, or those who, by way of reparation, would force the descendants of those who had been thus wronged to leave this country against their will?

The editor continues<sup>17</sup> the discussion of the subject

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<sup>13</sup> *Philanthropist*. Vol. I, No. 2.

<sup>14</sup> *Indiana Historical Society Papers*, Vol. II, pp. 243-245.

<sup>15</sup> *Philanthropist*. Vol. I, p. 44.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 37.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 181.

in these words: "The great object is still to devise some system by which slavery may ultimately be terminated. If African Colonization is not directed to that object or capable of effecting it, we are still left to find some other way." The article proceeds to show by facts and figures the utter impracticability of the colonization scheme and concludes: "My mind is forcibly struck with the sentiments of one of our greatest men<sup>18</sup> — 'When I reflect that God is just and that his justice cannot sleep forever, I tremble for the fate of my country.' "

The communications and selected matter are an indication of the editor's views on the subject of slavery. In the first number we read that "an intelligent Turk" expressed surprise at the United States in sending a fleet to compel the surrender of slaves in Turkey's possession while in the United States there were thousands of Africans in bondage. In another place is printed an address by a member of the North Carolina Manumission Society of a most radical anti-slavery type. There is an interesting article<sup>19</sup> contributed by a Virginian declaring that slavery is unconstitutional and that slaves are not property.

Among the communications there is a strong anti-slavery article signed "Philo Justitia" probably written by Benjamin Lundy; also a long article<sup>20</sup> by an intelligent colored man who discussed the question with great ability. Many articles and items were printed also to tell the story of the sufferings and misery of the slaves.

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<sup>18</sup> Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*.

<sup>19</sup> *Philanthropist*. Vol. II, p. 169.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, p. 76.



Scattered through the pages of the *Philanthropist* are frequent selections of anti-slavery poems from Cowper, Shenstone, Montgomery and others. An oration on slavery delivered at Mount Pleasant by Mr. Thomas H. Genin is printed<sup>21</sup> which Julian thinks deserves to be preserved as a choice relic of the literature of abolitionism in its pioneer days.<sup>22</sup>

The *Philanthropist* contained articles copied from the following papers: the *Chester and Delaware Federalist*, the *Federal Republican Baltimore Telegraph*, the *Gazette of Alexandria, Va.*, the *Providence Gazette*, the *Westchester Recorder*, the *National Intelligencer*, and the *Freeman's Journal*.

It is difficult to obtain facts concerning the circulation of Osborn's paper; but in the second number is published a list of the agents which gives a good idea of the extent of its circulation at the beginning of its history. There were eleven agents in Ohio alone, located for the most part in the southern and southeastern counties of the state; Cincinnati was the farthest point west having an agent. There were eleven agents also in Pennsylvania—one of whom was in Philadelphia; there was one at Wilmington, Delaware, and one also at Greensboro, North Carolina.

As one would naturally expect, Osborn had difficulty in having his papers delivered and he complained of this frequently. To use his own words: "The difficulties respecting the mail still continue—the last post due passed through the town but left neither letters nor

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<sup>21</sup> *Philanthropist*, p. 77. Mr. Genin was an intimate friend of Osborn, Charles Hammond, Benjamin Lundy and De Witt Clinton; he was a correspondent of Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* *Indiana Historical Society Publications*, Vol. II, p. 256.

papers. We hope that a new route will soon be established on such a footing as to obviate the difficulties from accruing under which we now labour."<sup>23</sup>

*The Philanthropist — Published and Edited by Elisha Bates at Mount Pleasant, Ohio. December, 1818 — April, 1822.*

In the opinion of the ardent abolitionist, the *Philanthropist* as edited by Bates did not reach the same high standard of anti-slavery views that was maintained by its founder, Osborn. It was on this account that Lundy, who acted as agent for Osborn and had contemplated becoming associate editor with him, decided to establish an anti-slavery periodical of his own. The first number issued by Bates (Dec. 11, 1818) was designated as Volume One, Number One; this shows that he himself did not regard his paper as a continuation of Osborn's.

This paper was smaller than the original *Philanthropist*, the pages being only five and one-half by seven and three-fourths inches. The editor chose the smaller size because it was suitable for binding, and he intended the *Philanthropist* to contain articles of permanent value; it was to be no ordinary newspaper. It was a weekly periodical; each number contained sixteen pages; twenty-six numbers with an index were to constitute a volume. Bates was printer as well as editor, and it was his aim to make his paper attractive in appearance. It was printed on good paper, and a large proportion of small type was used for the purpose, as the editor explained, of introducing a greater variety and of mak-

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<sup>23</sup> *Philanthropist*, January 31, 1818.

ing the *Philanthropist* more interesting. A bound volume of four hundred and sixteen pages resembles very closely in appearance a monthly magazine of the present day. It contained few advertisements; according to the editor's statement fewer than any other paper of the West.<sup>24</sup> The subscription price was at first three dollars a year, but later it was reduced to two dollars in an effort to increase the number of subscriptions. With few exceptions,<sup>25</sup> it was issued every week punctually, although there were frequent complaints that subscribers did not receive their paper promptly; but the delay in this matter was attributed by the editor to the neglect and mismanagement on the part of the post office department.<sup>26</sup>

The purpose and aim of the editor are set forth in the first number, in which he describes his paper as a "journal containing essays on moral and religious subjects, domestic economy, agriculture and mechanical arts, together with a brief notice of the events of the times." The editor believed that the times called for an improvement in all these things, and above all in *morality* and *religion*. Frequently he reminded his readers that improvement in public sentiment would be the regulating principle by which he would endeavor to be governed. It was clear then, from the first, that the *Philanthropist* was not to be exclusively an anti-slavery paper, and throughout the time of its publication the editor showed himself to be as much interested in the abolition of war, duelling and capital punishment

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<sup>24</sup> *Philanthropist*, October 30, 1819.

<sup>25</sup> September, 1819, the editor announced that one number would not be issued on account of the yearly meeting of the Friends.

<sup>26</sup> Frequent complaints made by the editor may be found in *Philanthropist*, January, 1819, May, 1819, May 27, 1820, and January, 1821.

as in the abolition of slavery; he wrote to awaken a sympathy for the Indian as well as for the slave.

Subjects that were much more prominent in the minds of the people at that time than slavery were fully discussed. The Ohio Canal, the protection of domestic manufacturers, the disposal of public lands, state banks, new inventions and progress in science were some of the subjects frequently dealt with. The following statement of the editor gives a good idea of his opinion as to what were the matters of greatest interest at that time: — "The present is an interesting period, — the question of peace or war with Spain, the protection of domestic manufacturers, the Missouri question and many other subjects equally important are to come before the approaching Congress."<sup>27</sup>

However, the subject of slavery received a large share of the editor's attention, and during the three and one-half years of his publication of the paper the questions of colonization, the Missouri Compromise, extension of slavery, and slave trade were frequently and fully discussed; and on the whole the opinions held by Bates in these matters were those of his contemporaries, Osborn and Lundy.

The question of the Missouri Compromise was closely followed and discussed. The editor declared<sup>28</sup> that he believed the decision as to the prohibition of slavery in the projected state of Missouri was the most important matter that could be submitted to the National Legislature since "the principle thereby to be established is to spread an acknowledged evil over a

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<sup>27</sup> December 4, 1819.

<sup>28</sup> December 11, 1819.



larger part of our country," and in conclusion of this remark he said, "Every person whose business it is to act on this occasion should feel himself awfully impressed with the high responsibility that belongs to his conduct therein."

Again the editor gave it as his opinion that if Congress should admit the new state without restrictions, an extensive market for slaves would be opened and in this way a new impulse would be given at once "to a traffic the most destructive of human happiness and the most irreconcilable to our political profession, to reason and religion."

The actions of the several state legislatures in regard to this question were printed, as was also the substance of the most important speeches in Congress either for or against restriction. The substance of the speech of Tallmadge was given, with this quotation, "If the West cannot be settled without slavery, gladly would I prevent its settlement till time shall be no more;" two speeches of Rufus King in the United States Senate on the Missouri Bill which the editor considered the best and clearest on the subject were quoted from at great length.

A long editorial<sup>29</sup> was devoted to an account of the commencement of the debate in the House; and later a full page was given to the passage of the Missouri Compromise with "facts, calculations and speculations for the use of those interested." When Congress finally reached the decision that Missouri could be admitted without restriction in regard to slavery, the *Philanthropist* declared that it was a decision that "any man

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<sup>29</sup> February 12, 1820.

who regarded the prosperity of his country would always have occasion to regret."

In frequent editorials Bates opposed the colonization plan of abolition, and he advised that it be abandoned as an impracticable and harsh measure. He regarded it as harsh because it proposed moving the colored people from their *own country* and from all that they loved.<sup>30</sup> He believed the plan to be impracticable because in order to carry it out it would be necessary for the Government to move more than ninety thousand persons annually for one hundred years and to supply them with land and the necessities of life.

Although Bates did disapprove of the society's plan, still he published a letter written by the regent of the society telling of the good work being accomplished, asking for contributions, and appealing to the people in the name of patriotism to support the cause. The first annual report of the society (July 15, 1819) was published<sup>31</sup> in the *Philanthropist*. The history of this movement was followed with care by the editor; letters detailing facts concerning it, — the number of slaves that were freed through this agency as well as the numbers that died after they had been transported to Africa, calculations as to the number of ships that would be necessary to transport the entire colored population of this country, — these were some of the items published in order to aid the people to form some idea of what could be expected from a movement that was supported by many people whose opinions were held in esteem. The editor's own belief was that the object of

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<sup>30</sup> April 17, 1819.

<sup>31</sup> August 8, 1820.

the society was entirely unattainable, and he declared that some other expedient as a remedy for slavery must be found. He did not agree with the principles maintained by some of the anti-slavery papers of that time that slaves could not be emancipated unless colonized, and he concluded his remarks upon this subject with these words:<sup>32</sup> "We may amuse ourselves with this project but it furnishes no solution."

Some interesting facts about the slave trade and the efforts being made in this country and in Europe to abolish the traffic may be read in the pages of the *Philanthropist*. An account of a bill introduced into Congress to prohibit importation and the substance of President Monroe's message upon the subject were published. The United States law was criticized<sup>33</sup> for its looseness and inadequacy, since it imposed heavy penalties upon the importer of slaves but made it possible for state legislatures so to evade the laws as to make the traffic profitable, and facts were quoted from a Southern paper to show that this evasion was being practiced. Facts about the conferences on the slave trade held at London and at Aix la Chapelle were published,<sup>34</sup> as was also the report of George Collier on the subject in the British House of Commons.

But lest anyone should think that the slave traffic was expiring, the editor printed an account of the capture (July, 1820) of a schooner of only eleven tons carrying a cargo of seventy-one slaves in chains.

The *Philanthropist* upheld the doctrine that the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution were

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<sup>32</sup> January 6, 1821.

<sup>33</sup> December 18, 1818.

<sup>34</sup> April 17, 1819.

anti-slavery documents, and quotations were given<sup>35</sup> from writings and speeches of noted men to show the discrepancy between the theory and practice of our Government.

One of the most interesting subjects discussed in the paper<sup>36</sup> was the proposed new Constitution of Ohio, which the editor strongly opposed in long and frequent editorials, principally on the ground that those who advocated and supported it did so with the intention and hope of introducing the privilege of slave-holding into Ohio. Bates published not only his own views on this subject but also gave the arguments of his opponents. He did not believe that the Ohio River formed a "natural boundary of moral turpitude," but held rather that human nature was very much the same in every portion of the globe; and when he saw the efforts being made to extend slavery into Missouri and other parts of the country, he did not believe that his view of the motive of those who advocated the calling of a Constitutional Convention should be treated with such contempt as it had aroused.

"The public sentiment should be improved till man, in every situation, becomes the friend of man." These words appearing as a motto in each number give a clue to the editor's idea as to the best method to be employed in bringing about the reforms that he felt were demanded.

He declared that "liberality and religious toleration were extending their influence more widely than in any former age and that the people of the United States were learning to regard the rights and happiness of

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<sup>35</sup> April 17, 1819, and June 19, 1819.

<sup>36</sup> July 3, 1819.



others by learning to appreciate their own blessings." But he was to discover that his policy of moderateness was not pleasing to the ardent abolitionist, who regarded moderateness in so important a question as slavery as lukewarmness and lukewarmness as a sin.

From many editorials we learn that the *Philanthropist* from the first was not popular and that it came to be a financial burden to its owner. A list of agents published in the first number gives some idea of its circulation at that time (December, 1818). There were nine agents in Ohio, chiefly in the southern and southeastern parts of the state; six towns in Virginia, one in North Carolina, two in Maryland and ten in Pennsylvania had agents; later there was an agency in Richmond, Indiana. On April 7, 1821, the editor made this announcement: "Debts due me for printing are scattered in the hands of individuals from Indiana to Massachusetts and from Tennessee to the northern part of New York," and six months later he stated that his patronage was not large but widely spread. We find many appeals to subscribers to pay, for the editor stated that the *Philanthropist* was entirely dependent upon its subscriptions for support since it contained fewer advertisements than any other paper in the Western country. In November, 1821, Bates informed his readers that he had thought of discontinuing the publication of his paper; but did not feel that he should, for although he believed that the cause of the slave was gaining ground and that the number of those yielding to conviction was increasing, he did not believe "that the triumph of abolition was as yet complete."

From frequent editorials we learn also that the

editor was aware of the fact that his mild manner of attack on slavery was not popular. At one time he wrote, "My views on the subject of slavery are my own; I write for no party, but I look at the subject only from the standpoint of humanity. I seek the release of both master and slave. It is not popularity but the relief of suffering humanity and the harmony and happiness of my country that I seek."

After continued discouragement, Bates decided to give up his enterprise, and on April 20, 1822, the last number of the *Philanthropist* was issued. In a long editorial the reasons for its discontinuance were given, which may be summed up as follows:

1. The editor recognized the fact that "two powerful stimulants" to reading had been lacking in his paper — local news and tales of diversion.
2. He realized that his methods of dealing with the question of slavery had been too mild to please the zealous friends of abolition. He had always endeavored to address himself to the slave-holder "by reason rather than by epithet" and his aim had been to avoid exciting passions and feelings incompatible with Christian philanthropy, since it was easy to enlist wrong feelings in a good cause and to adopt wrong measures to effect valuable ends. Yet in spite of his caution in speaking, he felt sure that he had said sufficient to prove his sympathy with the slave and that he believed his release would come.
3. He had discovered that the slave-holders were too generally disposed to reject without discrimination every appeal to their feelings, and he believed with many others acquainted with the subject that the views of the slave-holders had retrograded since the discussion of the Missouri question.

The newspapers from which Bates copied articles were the *Philadelphia Democratic Press*, the *National Intelligencer*, *Niles Register*, the *Western Herald*, and the *New York Daily Advertiser*. With regard to the newspapers of the country at that time, the editor wrote the following article in the *Philanthropist* (June, 1821): "The increase of newspapers in the United States has been mentioned as an evidence of the intelligence of the people; there probably is no parallel in any other country. The pretensions of Ohio to intelligence may be put in comparison with those of any other state in the Union. I shall not pretend to state the number exactly but I know of forty-five." The greater number of these were weekly periodicals, some were semi-weekly and one was a monthly.

During the time that Bates acted as editor of the *Philanthropist* he did not confine himself to that work alone. He was very ambitious as a publisher, printer, and book-binder. He announced, April 29, 1820, in the columns of his newspaper the publication of a quarterly magazine to be called the *Medical and Botanical Repository*, and in August of the same year he issued proposals for a monthly paper, the *Moral Advocate*, to deal exclusively with war, duelling and capital punishment. Both of these periodicals were continued after the suspension of the *Philanthropist*.

William C. Howells<sup>37</sup> says that he went to work for Bates as a printer on the *Repository* in 1831. In speaking of that kind of periodical he says that it was the favorite custom at that time for a man with a hobby to set up a monthly sheet or little magazine.

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<sup>37</sup> *Life in Ohio, 1813-1840*, by William Cooper Howells.

The printing offices of that period, according to Howells, were small and employed but a few men. The owner of the paper was usually, like Bates, printer, editor, and chief workman. The office consisted of a press and a small quantity of type. The presses were hand-made, largely of wood, and the type was inked with a ball of buckskin stuffed with wool. One of these offices near Steubenville, Ohio, was built on the bank of a stream so near the water's edge that the pressman, standing by the stream, could wet the paper by dipping it in the water.

The wages were very small; a foreman received less than \$300 a year, and a dollar a day was considered excellent pay for a printer. The expense involved in setting up such a paper was not great.<sup>38</sup> "The preliminary steps were issuing the prospectus, soliciting subscribers, appointing agents in different places, and authorizing all postmasters to act as agents."

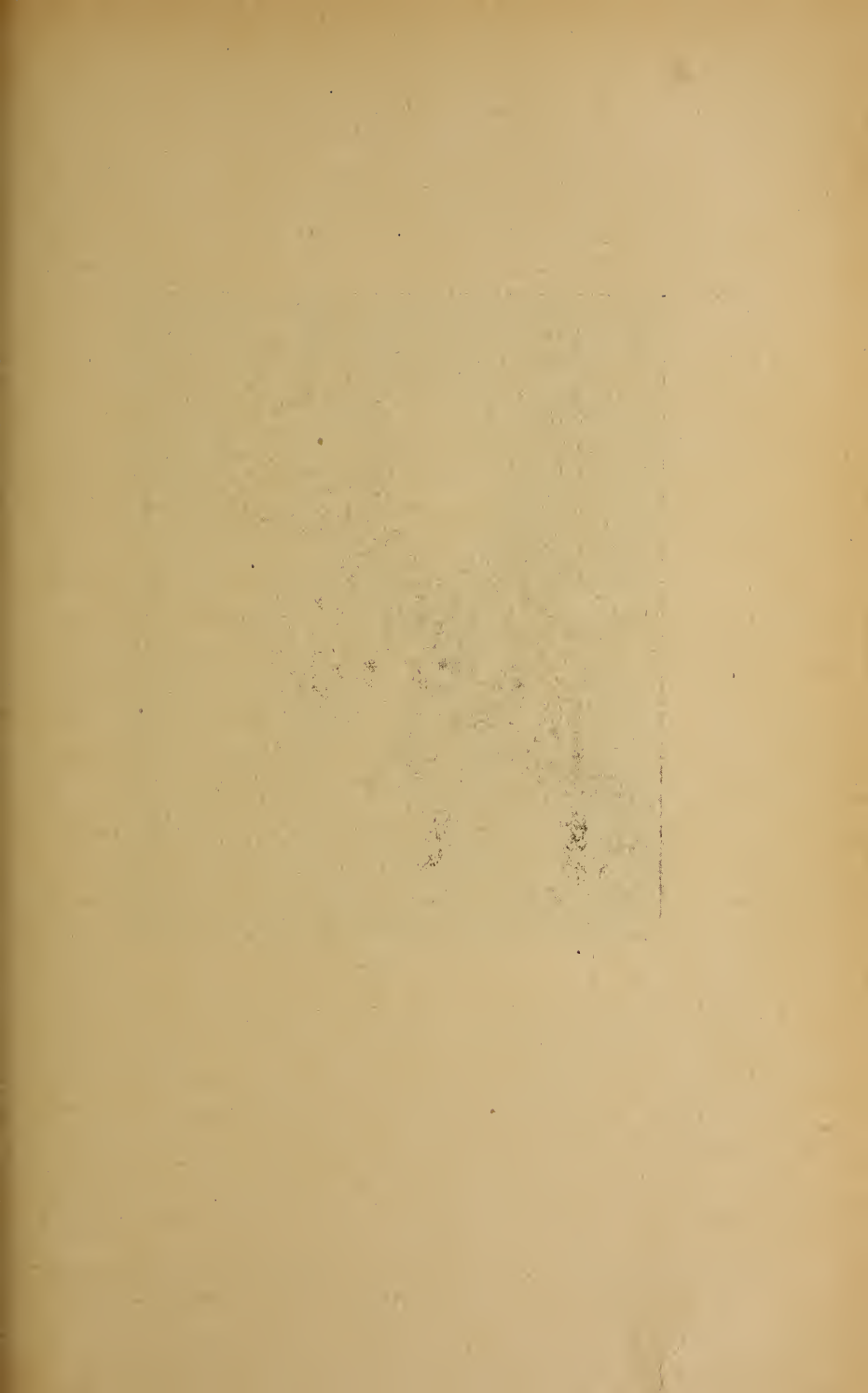
Bates allowed his agents ten per cent commission for receiving subscriptions and collecting and transmitting the money. He announced that he would receive as payment the following articles at the highest current price: wheat, corn, pork, beef, tallow, sugar, butter, wool, flax, linsey-cloth, and clean linen and cotton rags. To accommodate his western patrons he arranged to have them pay an agent designated in that part of the country, "since the money of what are considered good western banks can not be received by me."

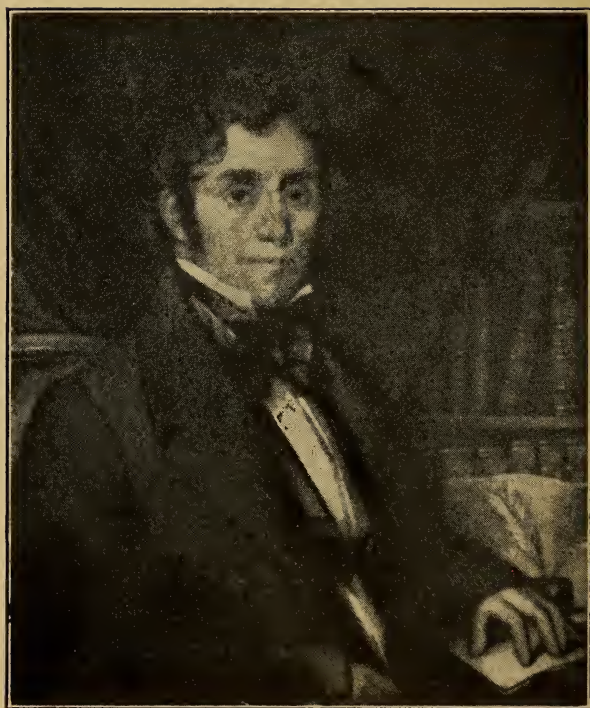
As has been said, Bates was a Quaker, and after he had given up the *Philanthropist* he became involved in

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<sup>38</sup> Howells makes this statement, but Bates frequently declared that the cost of publishing his paper was very great. See *Philanthropist*, April 7, 1821, and June 6, 1821.







*Benjamin Lindo*

the controversy that arose between the orthodox members of that sect and the followers of Elias Hicks. In 1831 he went to England on a religious mission and suspended the *Repository*, which was never resumed.

We read of him later in a radical anti-slavery paper<sup>39</sup> of Salem, Ohio, that he had left the religious sect of the Quakers and had become a minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church. The editor of this paper questions the sincerity of Bates' anti-slavery sentiments on account of certain statements made by him in which he opposed the American Anti-Slavery Society, saying that it would destroy "our country, our churches, and our civil and religious liberty."

The same paper printed a condemnation of him as a friend of the slave-holder, since he upheld the Union and the Church.

*The Genius of Universal Emancipation — Published and Edited by Benjamin Lundy, at Mount Pleasant, Ohio. July, 1821 — March, 1822*

Of the three editors mentioned at the beginning of this study, no one is better known than Benjamin Lundy. This is due to the fact that he did not confine his work for the cause of emancipation to one place; the newspaper that he founded in Ohio he transferred to the eastern states and through his influence on William Lloyd Garrison, who was to become the editor of the famous *Liberator*, the national anti-slavery organ, Lundy may be said to have played the part of a national character in the anti-slavery movement in this country.

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<sup>39</sup> The *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, a radical paper advocating disunion, published at Salem, O., 1845-1864.

Horace Greely says of him:<sup>40</sup> "He is the first of our countrymen who devoted his life and all his powers to the cause of the slaves. He gave the cause of emancipation neither wealth, nor eloquence, nor lofty abilities, for he had them not, but his courage, perseverance and devotion were unsurpassed."

Von Holst<sup>41</sup> calls Lundy the "Father of Abolitionism," and speaks in highest terms of his sacrifices for the cause of the slave; and by many other writers he is regarded as the pioneer of the anti-slavery movement in this country.<sup>42</sup>

Benjamin Lundy<sup>43</sup> was born in New Jersey in 1789, of Quaker parentage; he was brought up in the faith of the Society of Friends and remained a member of this sect during his entire life. At the age of nineteen he went to live at Mount Pleasant, Ohio. He was frail in body and was partially deaf, and in personal appearance gave no indication of the strength of character he possessed. He was gentle, mild and persuasive, and although he worked with zeal for the freedom of the slave he always treated the slave-holder with the kindest consideration.

He removed from Mount Pleasant to Wheeling, just across the Ohio River in Virginia and remained there four years working as an apprentice at the saddler's trade. It was in Wheeling that his sympathy for the slave was aroused, for perhaps in no place were the cruelty and sadness of the bondman's life more in evidence than in this town, situated as it was on the Ohio

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<sup>40</sup> *The American Conflict*, Vol. I, p. 111.

<sup>41</sup> *Constitutional History of the United States*, Vol. II, pp. 81-82.

<sup>42</sup> See Garrison's words of praise of Lundy quoted in Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*, Vol. I, p. 312.

<sup>43</sup> *Life of Benjamin Lundy*, compiled by Thomas Earl, 1847.



River, the boundary between slave and free territory. Over this boundary Lundy passed every week, going from a slave state where he worked, to a free state to attend the religious services of the Friends, whose teachings were against human slavery.

Wheeling was also the gateway between Maryland and Virginia, the breeding-ground of slaves on the one side, and Kentucky and Missouri on the other, which were being rapidly settled and were in constant need of slaves to operate the plantations.<sup>44</sup> The slaves in chains passed through the town frequently; and Lundy, who had often seen them, said in speaking of the effect upon him: "My heart was deeply grieved at the gross abomination; I heard the wail of the captive; I felt his pang of distress, and the iron entered my soul."

In 1812, Lundy left Wheeling and went back to Mount Pleasant to live, where he worked at his trade. He later removed to St. Clairsville, a town eleven miles west of Wheeling. Here, at the age of twenty-six, he called together at his house a number of his friends who, he thought, shared his sympathy for the slave. Only five or six came, and to them he expressed his feelings. Out of this meeting grew the organization of the Union Humane Society, the first anti-slavery society in the United States. In a few months its membership had grown to nearly five hundred and included the most influential citizens of the counties of the eastern part of the state.

Lundy conceived the idea of organizing similar societies, and to this end he wrote an address to the

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<sup>44</sup> *Benjamin Lundy, Founder of Abolitionism*, a paper read by William Clinton Armstrong before the Historical Club, Rutgers College, New Jersey, October 21, 1897.

"Philanthropists" of the United States over the signature of "Philo Justitia"; five or six copies were circulated in manuscript form. He was urged by his friends to publish it, which he did in 1816. The address closed with these words: "I have had the subject long in contemplation and I have now taken it up, fully determined for one never to lay it down while I breathe or until the end shall be attained." This circular is said to contain the germ of the whole anti-slavery movement, and Lundy's plan of societies was nearly the same as that in operation twenty years later.

When, in 1817, Osborn began the publication of the *Philanthropist*, Lundy became interested in the paper because he saw that it would afford him an opportunity of working efficiently for the cause of emancipation. He at first acted as agent, and soon his comments began to appear among the editorial paragraphs; in the meantime he continued to work at his trade in St. Clairsville. Soon Osborn invited him to assist in editing and to share in the business management of the paper. After some hesitation, he consented and decided to sell out his business establishment and move to Mt. Pleasant where he could devote his entire time to the cause in which he was interested. With this end in view, he took all his goods from his shop in a boat and with three apprentices started for St. Louis, the great market on the western frontier.

He arrived in the fall of 1819 at St. Louis on the eve of an important event. Missouri was just asking for admission to the Union, and the question of toleration or prohibition of slavery in the constitution of the proposed state was beginning to be discussed in Con-

gress. Lundy became interested in the discussion; he contributed articles to the newspapers of Missouri and Illinois exposing the evils of slavery and the dangers of extending the system in the territories. After the contest had terminated and Congress had decided that the people of Missouri might frame a constitution without restriction as to slavery, Lundy felt the bitterness of the defeat of his cause.

Disappointed by the victory of the slave power, and after an absence of six months, Lundy returned home, six hundred miles on foot in the winter season, having lost some thousands of dollars in Missouri on account of the business depression that overspread the whole country at that time. It was during his absence in St. Louis that Osborn had sold the *Philanthropist* to Elisha Bates. For a year and a half Lundy had been looking forward to becoming an assistant editor of this paper and of using it as a medium of attack on slavery. Osborn's successor did not come up to the standard of anti-slavery views by Lundy,<sup>45</sup> who for this reason decided to establish a periodical of his own.

About this time there were published in the *Philanthropist*, then under the management of Bates, two items of interest. In May, 1820, Elihu Embree advertised a proposal for the publication of an anti-slavery paper to be entitled the *Emancipator*, at Jonesboro, Tennessee. Just nine months later, in February, 1820, appeared the notice of Embree's death. Lundy had learned of this editor's decease on his way home from Missouri and when he discovered on his return to Mount Pleasant that Osborn had abandoned

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<sup>45</sup> See above pp. 180 and 187.

the *Philanthropist*, the idea came to him to publish a paper to take the place of the *Emancipator* which had had an extensive circulation and was of a decided anti-slavery character. He refers to this fact in the first number of his paper when he says: "The *Genius* is designed to rise like the *Phoenix* from the ashes of the late *Emancipator* published by Elihu Embree. Had that worthy man lived to continue his useful labors, it is not likely that this paper would have appeared at this time."

The prospectus of Lundy's paper was published in the *Philanthropist* in June, 1821; the first number appeared in July, 1821,<sup>46</sup> being entitled the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. After the issue of this first number, which was printed in the office of the *Philanthropist*, Lundy had his printing done at Steubenville, Ohio, twenty miles from his home at Mount Pleasant and he walked back and forth between these places carrying his papers on his back.

Eight monthly numbers of the *Genius* were in this way published in Ohio; but working under such conditions was, of course, unsatisfactory. Soon an opportunity of securing a better location for his paper offered itself. Since Embree's death the Manumission Society of Tennessee, which had procured a press for the purpose of disseminating the principles of emancipation, was in great need of some one to conduct its printing establishment. When Lundy learned of this, he decided to take over the establishment of the society, and in April, 1822, he published the ninth number of the *Genius*

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<sup>46</sup> The date of the first number is incorrectly given as January, 1821, in Earl's *Life of Benjamin Lundy*.



in Greenville, Tennessee. Here, without any apprenticeship, he acted not only as editor and proprietor, but also as type-setter and printer. He continued his publication in this place for nearly three years, and, although he encountered the strong opposition of the slave-holder, the *Genius* attained a wide circulation and Lundy, in an editorial at that time, commented on the satisfaction he felt in the results of his first year's work.

In 1824, Lundy decided to move his paper a second time. In the fourteenth number of the *Genius*, (June, 1824) at Greenville, he expressed his intention of transferring his publication to Baltimore, which was at that time the headquarters for the selection and purchase of slaves. In explanation, he stated that it had always been his intention to inculcate the opinion that slavery was a *national evil* and consequently that the exertions of the people in all parts of the United States would be needed to effect its abolition. It had, therefore, always been a leading object with him to divest his paper of local or sectional features, so that it might circulate generally and take on a national character. And he felt that he had succeeded in his ambition, because his paper was at the time of writing in circulation in nearly every state of the Union. He stated further that, from the time that he had first entered upon the publication of an anti-slavery paper, he had considered the eastern states as by far the most suitable place for the publication of a national organ, as he intended the *Genius* to be.

Baltimore appeared to him as a place particularly suited to his paper; its central situation would enable him to secure information valuable to his work; here also the facilities for mailing would be greater than in

the West, where he had been compelled to sacrifice from two hundred to three hundred subscribers on account of the carelessness in the postoffice department by which the papers were frequently wet and damaged in the mail before being taken into the stage-coaches. Lundy assured his subscribers in the West that the paper would still continue to be sent to them, for from Baltimore the mail would be taken by coaches in every direction and would arrive at its destination in good condition. He gave assurance also of his deep interest in the work of the abolitionists of the West and his happiness in being a co-worker with them in the "Christian Republican vineyard of the Genius of Universal Emancipation."<sup>47</sup>

The prospectus of Lundy's paper which appeared in the *Philanthropist* in June, 1821, gives a good idea of the kind of paper the *Genius* was to be. It was to be devoted almost exclusively to the subject of slavery, and it was the editor's wish that it should serve as an active instrument in his hands in the attempt to abolish "the criminal and disgraceful system [of slavery] in the American republic." To the editor of the proposed periodical, lukewarmness in so important a matter appeared criminal. He believed the American people were guilty of grave inconsistency and hypocrisy in allowing the "foul blot to remain upon the national escutcheon." He believed, furthermore, that the state of feeling throughout the United States called for a paper that would present the most interesting facts relative to the growing evil of slavery, and he ex-

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<sup>47</sup> For an account of the influence of the *Genius* after it was removed to Baltimore, see Earle's *Life of Benjamin Lundy*.

pressed a wish that the paper he was about to publish would eventually prove to be a faithful history of the downfall of the system in the United States.

As advertised in the prospectus, the paper was to be issued monthly. Twelve numbers were to constitute a volume with a title and index furnished by the editor. It was to be handsomely printed on royal sheet, folded in octavo form (each page being about nine by six inches), the printing to be neatly executed to make the paper suitable for binding. The subscription price was to be one dollar a year in advance. As the paper was intended for general circulation, it was to be securely wrapped and forwarded by mail "or as otherwise agreeable" to any part of the United States. To facilitate payment, it was announced that the bills of any specie-paying bank in the different states would be received. The first number was to be sent to some persons who had not subscribed that they might become acquainted with the publication.

The first number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* was issued in July, 1821; it bore the motto, "Fiat Justitia, Ruat Cælum." The first lines in this first number were the following quoted from the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

The first editorial in this first number was in the form of an "Address to the People," in which the editor made a general statement as to the status of slavery in the country at that time and as to the probability of its

being further extended. With regard to the matter of further extension Lundy remarked that the recent discussion of the subject had produced a great excitement among the people, "even from Maine to New Orleans and from the shores of the Atlantic to the savage lands of the West."

In this his first editorial Lundy unhesitatingly predicts the abolition of slavery as a certainty because, as he said: "The very nature of our government forbids its continuance and the voice of our government forbids its continuance and the voice of the Eternal hath decreed its annihilation." He goes further and predicts that if slavery is not abolished, our country will be devastated by intestine war. "That this one day will be done, there is not the shadow of a doubt unless the sons of liberty be roused from their lethargy, unless they be induced to act consistently with their profession and remove the evils, without the borders of their wide domain." To Lundy the system of slavery was out of place in a republic; he compared the slave-holders of the South to the feudal barons of Europe; he quoted a passage from Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia* to the effect that slavery produces feelings of aristocracy and despotism in those countries where it exists.

Lundy foresaw and met the objection that might be made to the publication of an anti-slavery paper in a free state. He explained that the *Genius* was not to be a local paper; mere local matters and all advertisements were to be entirely excluded from its columns that it might be read in every part of the Union. In conducting his paper the editor expressed a desire to have the assistance of men of the highest literary attainments



and the patronage of men of the highest standing in the nation. Important information in regard to slavery in every part of the country, contained in numerous publications, was to be collected and printed, as were also well-written essays and communications from societies and individuals tending to promote the cause of emancipation. The editor requested those having it in their power to furnish him with such articles, including short biographical and historical sketches, reports of important law cases, and details of unusual barbarity touching the subject of slavery. He solicited also for publication the constitutions, orations, reports and proceedings of various abolition and other societies established for the purpose of restoring to the slaves their freedom and natural rights.

In short, Lundy assured his readers that the *Genius* would contain a complete view of the actual state of things relative to the subject of slavery in the United States. William Birney<sup>48</sup> says: "The historical value of Lundy's paper for the period beginning with 1821 and ending with 1830 can hardly be overestimated. It is a repository of all the plans for the abolition of slavery, of all laws, opinions, arguments, essays, speeches, views, statistics, constitutions of societies, proceedings of Congress, notices of books and pamphlets, colonization efforts, political movements, in short, of everything relating to slavery."

In speaking of its style the biographer says: "The style of the writer improves from year to year. The

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<sup>48</sup> William Birney, son of James G. Birney and author of *James G. Birney and His Times*.

reader becomes insensibly absorbed in gazing upon the life-like panorama presented him of the doings of a former generation, and when he at last lays aside the paper, it is with a genuine respect for the noble sincerity, unselfishness, and sure judgment of Benjamin Lundy."

Lundy endeavored to keep before the minds of the people the horrors of the system of slavery. In a column called the "Black List," he published all the "harrowing and unusual cases of cruelty to negroes" that were brought to his attention. He noted under this head the large rewards offered for fugitive negroes, the inhumane treatment of victims of the slave traffic on the seas, and the unfair discrimination made by judges in inflicting fines or penalties. On the other hand, under the heading, "Growth of Correct Principles," he printed any facts that showed signs of improvement in the attitude of the people in general toward the colored man, such as the founding of a library at Boston and the opening of schools for the negro; he particularly called attention to the fact that in different parts of the country First Day schools were being opened for colored people, chiefly through the charity of women.

Under the title "Foreign and Domestic Slave Trade," Lundy followed the history of the traffic in slaves both in this and in foreign countries. He published<sup>49</sup> an article on "The Origin of Slave Trade in the United States", five pages being given to a report of a debate on this subject in the British House of Commons in which Wilberforce participated; a debate in the Cham-

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<sup>49</sup> December, 1821.

ber of Deputies in Paris was also reported. Action in Congress in regard to this trade was followed. At the same time Lundy aimed to show by facts that, contrary to the laws of the nations, the trade was still flourishing.

The question of the extension of slavery was uppermost in Lundy's mind on account of the recent victory of the slave power in Missouri. By way of contrast to the striking tendency in the United States to extend and perpetuate the system, he called attention to the progress made towards its abolition by the "infant republic" of Columbia; he quoted also the main points of the proclamation passed by the Congress of Hayti respecting freedom for the slaves. When the American convention for promoting the abolition of slavery petitioned Congress for the prohibition of slavery in the Floridas, Lundy wished to know why it should not be prohibited also in Arkansas, since there were but few slaves at the time in that territory. Of Missouri he remarked: "I do not hesitate to give as my decided opinion that if ever Missouri acquires a respectable population she must become a free state!"

He published the census of 1820, which gave the whole number of slaves in the United States.

The action of the different state legislatures in regard to emancipation was reported. Some space was devoted to a consideration of remarks made by Tallmadge in a debate in the New York Convention (September 17, 1821) on the subject of the emancipation of slaves still held in that state.

During the time of his publication of the *Genius* in Ohio, Lundy advocated the principle of *gradual* rather

than *immediate* emancipation,<sup>50</sup> although he later<sup>51</sup> came to believe in immediatism as the most direct way to total emancipation. In the third number of the *Genius* he wrote in regard to abolition: "Various plans have been proposed in different sections of the United States. It is pleasing to see that the people are awake to the evils of slavery. No one of these plans meets my idea exactly, but I will not oppose any of them but am willing to assent to any measure consistent with justice and calculated to effect the grand and benevolent purpose of universal emancipation." Lundy's idea seems to have been to effect abolition through manumission by masters and through the legislatures of the slave-holding states compelling masters to emancipate.

The abolition plan of the American Society was frequently discussed, Lundy favored colonization as a means of gradual emancipation. At one time he wrote:<sup>52</sup> "I would not have it to be thought that I am opposed to the ostensible views of the American Colonization Society." He went on to say that he had approved the motives which its founders professed and had thought that much good would come of it.

He believed that a proper plan carried on in a spirit of benevolence would tend to counteract some of the evils of the slave traffic. He published<sup>53</sup> letters from the agent of the society in the United States which contained assurances of the ultimate success of the plan, since hundreds were asking permission to go out. In

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<sup>50</sup> In the *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, October, 1846, we read that Lundy was misled by the "ignis fatuus of gradual emancipation."

<sup>51</sup> In Baltimore in 1824, Lundy wrote that his object was the complete and total extinguishment of slavery by such means as the people in their wisdom should elect.

<sup>52</sup> October, 1821.

<sup>53</sup> December, 1821.



the same number in which these letters appeared, Lundy again expressed himself as in favor of some kind of colonization plan, "for," he said, "I am of the opinion that unless a large part of our colored population can be removed from those districts where they are the most numerous, it will be impossible to do away with the system (otherwise than by violence) in anything like a reasonable length of time."

But Lundy came in time to look with disfavor and suspicion upon the methods of the society. He wrote that he had been greatly disappointed in the hopes he had indulged with regard to the good to be accomplished by the American Colonization Society, because some of its transactions had been marked with a degree of folly or wickedness that proved that the agents were totally unfit for the office assigned them. He criticized the prominent leaders of the movement. He said that Clay had promised to work for abolition in Kentucky but had used his influence to extend slavery in the United States; Mr. Mercer, of Virginia, one of the founders of the society, had opposed the exclusion of slavery in Missouri while professing a desire to liberate his own slaves. The editor called attention<sup>54</sup> to the "high-toned and aristocratic" language used by Bushrod Washington, the president of the society, in a letter explaining why he had sold his slaves instead of liberating them.

Lundy differed from most anti-slavery men of his time in that he believed that slavery was not profitable to masters. He never advocated emancipation backed by the sword, for he was opposed to war and to the use

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<sup>54</sup> October, 1821.

of violence at any time; his appeal was to the conscience alone. He advocated the establishment of colonies of negroes beyond the borders of the United States with the ultimate object of securing emancipation, on the soil, of all the slaves who remained in the United States. It was in the interest of this plan that he traveled so extensively. On his way home from Mexico he stopped at Cincinnati where he explained to the students of Lane Seminary the radical differences between his plan of negro settlement and the aims and operation of the Colonization Society. Lundy's opinion of the society and its leaders is easily read in his own words: "While we have such men as Henry Clay to make our laws and (Judge) Bushrod Washington to expound them, it is to be feared that the Africans in our land must still be 'hewers of wood and drawers of water,' and the name of America will be coupled with that of hypocrisy and injustice."

"But I considered that although a man should find himself standing alone in a world of error, he is not to be delivered from efforts at reformation merely by the probability of ill success." In these words Lundy tells with what determination and perseverance he undertook the publication of a paper that was boldly and fearlessly to preach the doctrine of abolition.

The *Genius* was at its beginning unaided by the patronage and influence of societies or wealthy individuals; it was even opposed by many who might naturally have been expected to support it. Lundy says that many different opinions were expressed in his neighborhood after he had published his proposal to print an anti-slavery paper. Some who were opposed

to the principle of slavery were averse to any attempts to abolish it; some were of the opinion that it was best to let it alone and it would destroy itself. But Lundy persevered and was rewarded; for the little paper that could boast of only a dozen subscribers at the beginning, at the end of four months had a large circulation; and at the end of the first year the editor could write that he felt confident that his paper had met with the approbation of many of the best men in the country.

He had been told by the friends of the slave that his paper was too severe in its attitude toward the slaveholder and for that reason would never circulate in the slave states. Lundy replied to this that more than seventy subscriptions had been received from both slave and free states in one month; and one subscriber in Virginia had sent in his name for nine additional subscriptions because he feared the paper would not have a large patronage. The privilege had been given to subscribers who at the end of three or four months were not satisfied with the paper to return it and have their money refunded, and Lundy was glad to say at the end of the first year that not one person had availed himself of this privilege.

Doubts had been expressed as to whether Lundy would be able to find material sufficient to maintain an anti-slavery paper for any great length of time, but already in the fourth number Lundy announced that the *Genius* was crowded with lengthy articles, and suggested that it might be necessary to enlarge it; the following number<sup>55</sup> was increased from sixteen to twenty pages. At that time it was in circulation in nearly every state in the Union from Maine to Missouri, and

the circulation continued to increase almost daily during the time of the paper's publication in Ohio.

In a retrospect<sup>56</sup> of the first six months of his work as editor of the *Genius* Lundy discussed the question of the "right attitude" to be taken by a paper dealing with the subject of slavery. He stated that he had been criticized by some on account of his too great severity toward the slave-holder, and by others for the mildness of his attack. Lundy expressed his opinion upon this point clearly and openly, when he said that he did not believe that a reformation of great evils could be effected by oily words. He continues: "The advocates of slavery (and there are some of these in all parts of the Union) feel themselves secure in the seat of authority. Covered with the mantle of hypocrisy they dare hold up their heads among honorable men. They treat with a smile of contempt every effort of the humane and benevolent to ameliorate the wretched condition of the slave. They laugh to scorn everything like mildness and persuasion and must be addressed in such language as will reach their adamantine hearts to unbar the doors which have long been closed against reason and justice. With these views I have entered the wide fields of editorial labor. For myself I have adopted the motto of 'fidex et audax,' and it remains to be seen whether my exertion will be the means of effecting anything that will be beneficial to my fellow-creatures." As Osborn declared, so also, did Lundy that he was not working to gain popularity, and that he was determined to pursue such a course in dealing with

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<sup>55</sup> November, 1821.

<sup>56</sup> January, 1822.



slavery as justice and duty pointed out, regardless of consequences.

The last number of the *Genius* published in Ohio was issued in March, 1822. The "Retrospect" published by the editor in the *Genius* in July, 1822, is of interest and value because it tells us what Lundy thought of his paper and also what hopes he entertained for its future. He felt assured that his course of fearlessness and boldness in dealing with the advocates of the slave system in this country had been successful, and he felt also that his ideas had met with the approval of the most enlightened and patriotic citizens of the United States. He did not hesitate to say that he would continue to conduct his paper on the same principles he had followed from the beginning and that he would use every effort to point out the evils, as well as the dangers of the slave system, till the people more generally fixed their attention upon it. He expressed himself as greatly pleased with the flattering reception of his first year's work, and he appeared extremely confident of a still greater success in the future for the *Genius*.

### SOURCES

Files of these early newspapers are rare and very difficult to obtain. Of the earlier *Philanthropist* I was able to examine but two numbers.<sup>1</sup> Practically all the statements made in this essay concerning that paper are taken from an article<sup>2</sup> written by George W. Julian written with the purpose of proving that Osborn and not Lundy was the first to establish an anti-slavery paper in America and that Osborn deserves the honor of having been the first to proclaim the doctrine of unconditional and immediate emancipation on this continent, an honor usually accorded by historians to Garrison. Julian states that he wrote

<sup>1</sup> Library of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

<sup>2</sup> Indiana Historical Society Publications, vol. II, pp. 232-267.

this article with the complete files of the *Philanthropist* before him.

The writer obtained and examined almost complete file of Bate's *Philanthropist* and Lundy's *Genius*.

Earle's *Life of Benjamin Lundy*,<sup>3</sup> compiled from Lundy's letters to his friends and from his publications, is the best source of information concerning the life and work of the editor of the *Genius*.

*James G. Birney and His Times*<sup>4</sup> contains (in appendix) useful information concerning Osborn's and Lundy's attempts to establish anti-slavery papers. The writer's aim was to prove that Lundy and not Garrison was the founder of Abolitionism in the United States.

*Benjamin Lundy, the Founder of Abolitionism* is the title of a paper<sup>5</sup> by William C. Armstrong read October 21, 1897, before the Historical Club, Rutgers College, New Jersey.

Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*, the *History of Ohio*, by Randall and Ryan,<sup>1</sup> and the county histories<sup>1</sup> give a few facts concerning Lundy but almost nothing concerning the other two editors.

In the *Reminiscences*<sup>7</sup> of Levi Coffin<sup>7</sup> are to be found interesting facts concerning the abolition movement in Ohio at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and in the *Liberty and Free Soil Parties*, by T. C. Smith, are to be found some brief references to the early anti-slavery press.

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<sup>3</sup> Ohio State Library, Columbus, O.

<sup>4</sup> By William Birney, son of James G. Birney.

<sup>5</sup> Ohio State Library, Columbus, Ohio.

<sup>6</sup> Ohio State Library, Columbus, Ohio.

<sup>7</sup> Library of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

# OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

## REVIEWS, NOTES AND COMMENTS

BY THE EDITOR

THOMAS BARTLEY,

ACTING GOVERNOR AND JUDGE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF OHIO.

Singular though it may seem, the biographies of Judge Bartley that have appeared from time to time in Ohio publications are without exception incomplete. Beyond the record of the fact that he served a short time as governor to fill out the unexpired term of Wilson Shannon who had been appointed minister to Mexico, and had served two terms on the Supreme Bench of Ohio, these sketches contain practically no information in regard to the life of this eminent jurist. An extended search recently for the date of the death of Judge Bartley led to the discovery that a biography of him satisfactory in every particular except one has been found in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Vol. 40, pages 119-120. Through some oversight unexplained, this sketch fails to mention Judge Bartley's service as a member of the Supreme Court of Ohio. He was elected to this position in 1851 and served continuously until 1859, rendering on the bench his most distinguished service to the state of Ohio. The sketch in the *Register* is as follows:

Judge Thomas Wells Bartley, of Washington, D. C.,  
\* \* \* was born in Jefferson County, Ohio, Feb. 11, 1812, and  
died in Washington, D. C., June 20, 1885, aged 73.

"His father was Hon. Mordecai Bartley, of Mansfield, Ohio, who was born in Fayette County, Pa., Sept. 8, 1787, and his mother was Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Wells, of Brownsville, Fayette County, Pa. She was born in 1789. They were united in marriage in 1806. His grandfather Elijah was born in Virginia in 1753, and married Rachel Pearshall. After marriage they removed from Loudoun County, Va., to Fayette County, Pa., where all their children were born. The earlier ancestors of this Bartley family (spelled also Barklay and Barclay) lived in Virginia from the early colonial days.

"Mordecai Bartley was a prominent man in Ohio. He was a military officer in the war of 1812, was member of Congress eight years, from 1823 to 1831, and was governor of the state two years, 1844-46.

"The subject of this sketch, after his boyhood days were passed, was fitted for college, and was graduated at Jefferson College, Pa., in 1829, and received the degree of A. M. in 1833. After studying law one year with Hon. Jacob Parker, of Mansfield, and one year with Elijah Hayward, Esq., of Washington, D. C., he was admitted to practice in all the judicial courts of Ohio in 1833. He soon became a public man, serving in the Ohio General Assembly and in the Senate. As speaker of the Senate, he became, in 1844, ex-officio governor of the state, and in December of that year was succeeded by his own father, who had just been elected governor.

"He was united in marriage, October 5, 1837, with Julia Maria, daughter of William Larwill, of Wooster, Ohio. She was born March 30, 1818, and died March 1, 1847. He married again, November 7, 1848, Susan Sherman, daughter of Hon. Charles R. Sherman, Judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio. She was a sister of Senator John and General William T. Sherman. By his first marriage he had four children, and by his second two.

"Judge Bartley was a man eminent for his legal learning and his great power of thought. Some of his decisions occupy a high place in the estimate of his brethren of the legal profession. He was a member of the Jackson Democratic Association in Washington, and the resolutions passed by that body, after his death, are very strong in their testimony to his ability and worth of character. The last words of Judge Bartley, as reported to us by one of his friends, were these: 'I have done my duty to my country, to my countrymen, to my children, to all. The world, the material world, I am going out of it. But there is a spiritual world we cannot see with our material senses.' He had lifted himself upon his elbow to utter these words, when he dropped back upon his pillow and died.



## OTHNIEL LOOKER

For many years the biographies that have appeared from time to time of Governor Othniel Looker have been far from satisfactory. The text of the sketch which has appeared in many publications is reproduced in the note below.\* As will be seen, it is incorrect in almost every particular. The editor recently learned that Governor Looker died in the village of Palestine, Illinois. A very obliging correspondent was found in the person of Mrs. Manford E. Cox of Robinson, Illinois. Through her assistance data has been gathered for a satisfactory biographical sketch. An interesting and helpful letter has also been received from Mrs. Angeline Alexander, a great-granddaughter of Governor Looker who lives in Palestine, Illinois. Among the papers and letters furnished is a copy of the *Palestine Weekly Register* of February 13, 1919, containing a sketch compiled by A. D. Gogin. This sketch in the main has been found correct. A mistake was made in regard to the service of Governor Looker in the New York Assembly. This has been corrected by information furnished through the Legislative Reference Section of the New York State Library. Following are

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\*"Othniel Looker was born in the State of New York, of humble parentage, in 1757. He enlisted as a private in the Revolutionary Army; serving through the war. In 1784, having received a grant of land in the wilderness of the Northwest, he crossed the Alleghenies, and locating his grant, built his cabin, and commenced his life labor as a hard working farmer. He devoted himself strictly to the business of a farmer, and on the organization of the state was elected a member of the Legislature. Here he availed himself of the advantages such a school afforded, and so rose in public esteem as to be sent to the Senate. He became Speaker of that body, and when Governor Meigs resigned the Governorship in 1814, he became the fourth Governor of Ohio. He served but eight months, returning to his farm, respected by all as a man of clear mind, much intelligence and peaceful disposition. Strange to say, no records are available to make a more satisfactory sketch. He died unmarried."

the facts in regard to the life history of Governor Looker:

Othniel Looker was born at Hanover, Morris County, New Jersey, October 4, 1757. He died at Palestine, Illinois, August 29, 1864.\*

In 1777 at the age of twenty years he volunteered in the New Jersey militia, Obadiah Kitchel's company, Colonel Martin's regiment, and served through the Revolutionary War. His services as a soldier, it is asserted by those associated with him, developed the high qualities that later gained him the confidence of his fellowmen. In his long and useful life he was "guilty of no act which tarnished the high reputation thus early acquired."

After the close of the war, he, in 1782, moved to New York where he became a member of the Assembly of that state in 1803 and 1804, serving in the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh sessions of that body as representative from Saratoga County.

In 1804 he moved to Hamilton County, Ohio, which he served in the House of Representatives from 1807-1809. He was a member of the state Senate from 1810 to 1811 and again from 1813 to 1816. He was speaker of the Senate when Governor Meigs resigned in 1814 and thereupon became acting governor, a position which he filled from March 24, 1814, to December 8 of that year. At the conclusion of his service he returned to his farm in Harrison Township, Hamilton County. He was afterwards Associate Judge for seven years.

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\*This is the date on his tombstone at Palestine, Illinois. Strange to say, however, the *Cincinnati Gazette* of July 31, 1845, contains an obituary notice with the statement that Governor Looker died July 23, 1845. This difference of dates is yet to be reconciled.

In 1844 he went to Palestine, Illinois, to spend his remaining days with his daughter, Mrs. Rachel L. Kitchel. Here he was highly honored by the citizens of the village. On July 4, 1845, he delivered his last public address. "Appearing in his continental uniform, bowed with the infirmities of age, his emotions almost overcame him as he contrasted the feeble beginnings of the Republic with the splendid destinies assured in the future." In an obituary notice it is recorded that his last words were, "My life has been spared; I have tried to be useful; God calls and I obey the summons." Governor Looker married Pamela Clark. Their children were B. F., James Harvey, Pamela and Rachel L. Rachel L. Looker married Joseph Kitchel who was the first receiver of the land office at Palestine, Illinois.

Governor Looker had a large number of grandchildren and many of his descendants are still living. A grandson, Thomas H. Looker, entered the navy as midshipman November 6, 1846. He served through the Mexican War and through the Civil War. He was promoted to the position of pay director in the navy March 3, 1871, and in 1890 was living in Washington, D. C.

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#### CENTENARY OF THE BIRTH OF ULYSSES S. GRANT.

We are under special obligations to Honorable Hugh L. Nichols, former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Ohio and at present Chairman of the U. S. Grant Memorial Centenary Association, for a general program of the exercises attending the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Ohio's most illustrious son. The celebration will extend from the 27th to the 29th of

April, 1922. The detailed announcement received from Judge Nichols follows:

"The centenary of the birth of General Ulysses S. Grant will be commemorated in the county of his birth (Clermont) and in the county where he spent his childhood and youth (Brown) in a very striking manner.

"The services on the day of his birth, April 27, 1922, will be had at the place of birth, Point Pleasant, Clermont County, Ohio. Point Pleasant is now, as it was at the time of the birth of this distinguished Ohioan, but a small hamlet lying upon the banks of the Ohio River, about twenty-five miles east of Cincinnati. The hills bordering the river come at this point almost precipitately down to the river bank and the name given to the spot, as it would suggest, grew out of the beauty of its situation.

"The parents of General Grant, Jesse R. and Hannah Simpson Grant, were married at Bethel, Ohio, in the Spring of 1821, and immediately took up housekeeping in the little home at Point Pleasant, where Jesse R. had some connection with the tannery business. The family remained, however, at Point Pleasant but a short time after the birth of their first-born, moving, when he was but eighteen months of age, to Georgetown, Brown County, Brown County being then a newly made county and Georgetown having just been laid out as a town.

"Here the boy Grant remained with his parents until he was nominated as a cadet to West Point by General Thomas L. Hamer in 1839. Before Grant returned from West Point the family had again moved, this time going to Bethel, Clermont County, the former home of the General's mother.

"The orator of the day at Point Pleasant will be President Warren G. Harding, who will there deliver the commemorative address. The chairman of the day will be Governor Harry L. Davis, and the addresses by these two officials will be the extent of the speaking on that occasion.

"It is planned for the distinguished guests to leave Cincinnati on the morning of April 27 on the steamer *Island Queen* going up the Ohio River to Point Pleasant, it being estimated that two hours will be required for this journey.

"Many of the descendants of General Grant will be on this boat, including Major U. S. Grant III.

"On the following day, April 28, commemorative services will be held at Bethel. On this occasion, U. S. Senator Frank B. Willis will deliver the commemorative address and some especial services in memory of U. S. Senator Thomas Morris.



who lies buried at Bethel, will be held in connection with the Grant Memorial Services.

"On the following day, April 29, the services will be held at Georgetown, Brown County, Ohio, where Senator Atlee Pomerene will be the principal speaker.

"A detachment of the United States Army will be present on all three occasions, accompanied by the Camp Knox, Kentucky, military band.

"A great many distinguished men and women will be present on all three occasions, including the wife of the President; the widow of Lieutenant-General Henry C. Corbin and the widow of Major-General Frederick D. Grant will also be among the number of ladies who will grace the occasion.

"Souvenir coins commemorating the event have been authorized by the Congress of the United States—10,000 gold dollars and 250,000 silver halves. These coins, on the obverse side will bear the bust of General Grant, garbed in the military attire of the Civil War period, and on the opposite side a miniature representation of the little cabin in which he was born."

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## MARION COUNTY CENTENNIAL

Marion, Ohio, will celebrate its one hundredth anniversary the first week in July. The officers of the committee arranging for the celebration are, J. W. Jacoby, attorney, and John Brigel of Marion.

Marion was founded by Eber Baker and Alexander Holmes early in 1822. Its location was on the Harrison Military Road of the War of 1812. Baker and Holmes, both of Newark, Ohio, had entered the lands a few years before. It was platted soon after a committee was appointed by the legislature to locate the seat of justice for Marion County. A spirited contest arose over the location of the county seat, Marion finally winning by a divided vote of the committee.

It is the intention of the committee to make this celebration one of the big events of Central Ohio for the coming summer. The program will begin on Sun-

day, July 2nd. Every church will hold appropriate services on that date. On Monday the opening exercises will be held and prominent out-of-town speakers will participate. In the afternoon of that day the different industries of the city will show all visitors through the industrial plants. In the evening the various lodges and other organizations of the city will entertain with open house. On Tuesday, the 4th, it is expected that Commander MacNider of the American Legion will be present and the day will be given over to a pageant showing the growth of the city and county for the past 100 years. There will also be games and sports of various sorts. Wednesday will be Home-coming Day. On that day Marion's most distinguished citizen, President Harding, and other state and national guests will be present. The day will be given over to speech-making and renewal of home ties.

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# CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF ULYSSES S. GRANT

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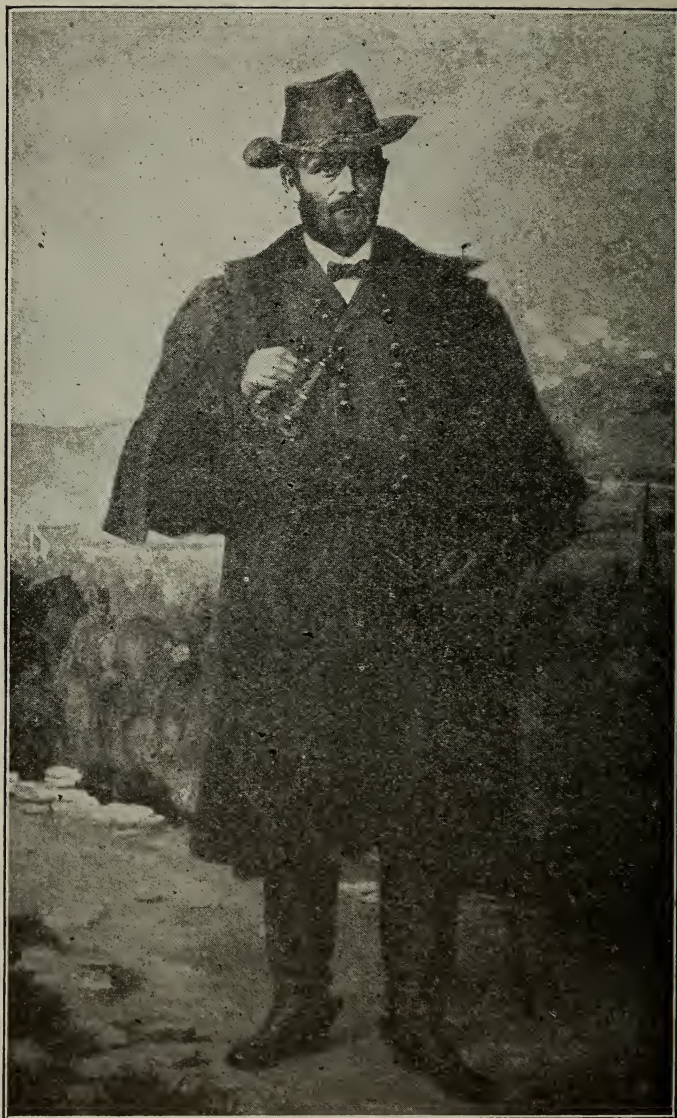
BY C. B. GALBREATH

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## CELEBRATION AT POINT PLEASANT, CLERMONT COUNTY, OHIO

Of all citizens of the United States, born in Ohio, the most famous in his day and generation, as Judge Hugh L. Nichols has observed, was General Ulysses S. Grant. That he still holds that high place among the distinguished sons that Ohio has given to the Republic and the world was attested by the outpouring of people to celebrate the centennial anniversary of his birth and by the tributes that on three successive days fell from the lips of Ohio's most eminent official representatives who came from the nation's capitol to speak on this occasion.

The weather, which was cool and threatening on the morning of Thursday, April 27, 1922, the first day of the celebration, gradually settled and the two succeeding days were almost cloudless. The program carefully planned by Judge Nichols and his associates on the Centenary committee was successfully carried out without change except that occasioned by the absence of Governor Davis who was prevented by illness from attending. Among the distinguished persons present was the widow of General Fred D. Grant, who is the mother of Major Ulysses S. Grant III and the Countess



GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT.  
From photograph of painting by Leon Lippert.

Cantacuzene. No direct descendant of the great general was in attendance.

Cincinnati was the preliminary place of assembly. President Warren G. Harding, Mrs. Harding and his party arrived in the city at nine o'clock Friday morning. Among the guests who came with him from Washington were Mrs. Fred D. Grant, Mrs. Henry C. Corbin, Attorney General of the United States Harry M. Daugherty, Private Secretary to the President George B. Christian, Jr., Congressman Nicholas Longworth and a number of other Ohio congressmen.

The President held a brief reception at the Gibson House, from which a little later at the head of a military escort and a procession of guests in automobiles he proceeded through flag-decked streets, thronged by applauding thousands, to the boat landing at the foot of Broadway Street.

It had been originally planned that the President and his party should go to Point Pleasant on the steamer *Island Queen* and return to Cincinnati on the *Morning Star*. By request from Washington a change was ordered in this arrangement and the President made the trip to Point Pleasant and return on the United States Government steamer *Cayuga*. A large crowd boarded the vessels of the Coney Island Steamship Company, including the *Island Queen* and the *Morning Star*, and the pageant was imposing as the vessels steamed up the river.\* At the villages on either shore and on all the roads leading to the river people had gathered to witness the procession and wave their greetings. At New

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\*In order the vessels were: *Cayuga*, *Scioto*, *Miami*, *Island Queen*, *Morning Star*, *America*, *East St. Louis*, *Homer Smith*.

Richmond they had assembled in large numbers to hail the passing pageant.

Scarcely had the *Island Queen* passed the village when an accident occurred that was for a brief time a matter of serious concern. As seen from the topmost deck of the vessel the third and fourth decks sank for a short distance, remained stationary for a moment and then went down with a terrific crash that echoed across the water. On the fourth deck, which followed the third in its downward plunge, was the military band from Fort Benjamin Harrison. It had commenced playing a short time before the accident, and true to its training for emergencies, continued to play as the decks went down, though some of the soldiers were thrown from their seats in the fall. Without doubt this did much to allay fears and prevent a panic among the seventeen hundred passengers of the boat. Fortunately comparatively few persons were under these decks when they went down. The cool morning air and a stiff breeze down the river had sent most of the passengers to the salon and the rear of the vessel. The brief check in the downward descent of the decks gave opportunity for the passengers underneath to escape and a comparatively few were caught. One of the newspapers on the day following stated that forty-four persons were injured, two of them fatally. Many of the injuries, however, were slight and there were no fatalities, though it was thought for a time that two of the injured could not recover. The Manchester Boys' Band, which was playing on the second deck, suffered most from the fall of the deck above, which caught a number of the boys before they could escape. This accident was the only



incident that marred the three days' celebration and it would have been much more serious had it occurred earlier in the trip when the front decks of the vessel were crowded with passengers.

A great crowd of people were waiting to greet the President and his party at Point Pleasant, the birthplace of Ulysses S. Grant. He proceeded promptly to the site of the house in which the General was born, a portion of which is still standing there. From this little lean-to kitchen he emerged, proceeded to the speakers' stand close by and bowed to the greetings of the great multitude that had assembled. With him were Mrs. Harding, Mrs. Fred D. Grant, Mrs. Corbin, Attorney General Daugherty and General Warren J. Keifer, in spite of his eighty-six years erect and sturdy, the only surviving major general of the Civil War. The speakers' stand was equipped with the magnavox that not only carried the President's voice to the limits of the surrounding multitude but to the passengers who remained on board the vessels in the river below. By special arrangement his voice was also carried to distant Cincinnati where thousands of people assembled heard him as distinctly as did those in his immediate presence. Even the chatters of the birds that were flitting about in the trees, evidently somewhat disturbed by this unusual spectacle, were heard in Cincinnati.

Following the invocation Judge Hugh L. Nichols, in the absence of Governor Davis, delivered an appropriate impromptu introductory address. There was music by the band and a solo, "Tenting on the Old Camp Ground," by Miss Florence Enneking. President Harding then delivered the following address:

"MY COUNTRYMEN: The military hero of the Republic; a commanding figure in the military history of the world; the surpassing exemplar of magnanimity of all times; the most striking example of the possibilities in American life; the confident and relentless commander in war, and the modest and sympathetic petitioner for peace after victory!

"All of these may be said, most befittingly, of the great American whose hundredth birthday anniversary we are met to commemorate, to whose undying fame we add fresh tribute of memory today.

"In that inevitable contemplation incident to the preparation of an address for this occasion, I have pondered again and again, what distinction, or what attribute, or better, what attributes and achievement, of General Ulysses S. Grant appeals to me most. He looms majestic in the blend of them all — his fame is secure.

"One must revere his military genius, even though its development was one of those miracles of grim war itself. No one would have picked him in youth or early manhood, or in his early career as a regular officer, for the great commander. Responsibility and necessity set ablaze the latent genius. Donelson was a flash of daring, Vicksburg his trophy of courage and unalterable determination, Petersburg the revelation of his genius. But at Appomattox he was Grant the Magnanimous, who spoke for reunion as he had fought for union, and turned from grim warrior to ambassador of peace. He could neither hate nor humiliate, and in the very glow of surpassing triumph he could not be ungracious or inconsiderate.

"In that supreme moment of victory, with union saved at unutterable cost, he seems to have surveyed the many disappointments, the measureless sacrifices and the indescribable sorrows. He felt the assurance of the Nation preserved, and yet the one sweeping utterance from his great heart was 'Let us have peace.'

"Undoubtedly the task of reconstruction was lightened because of Grant's moderation. At the height of the struggle he would accept the capitulation of Fort Donelson only on conditions of "unconditional surrender;" but when the fighting was over, he changed from severity to moderation and generosity. In the conclusion of his report to the Secretary of War some months after Appomattox, he first paid his tribute to the valor of the armies he had commanded, and then concluded with this sentence:

"Let them hope for perpetual peace and harmony with that enemy, whose manhood, however mistaken the cause, drew forth such herculean deeds of valor."

"I cannot but feel that there is for us a lesson in the concluding sentences of the note in which he proposed to receive the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia. Those sentences read:

"The armies, artillery, and public property to be parked and stacked, and turned over to the officer appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side arms of the officers, nor their private horses or baggage. This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to their homes, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observe their paroles and the laws in force where they may reside.'

"To that he added the verbal agreement with General Lee that every man of the Confederate Army who claimed to own a horse or mule, should be permitted to take the animal home. General Lee observed that these conditions would have a happy effect upon his army. Within a few hours after the capitulation had been signed, largely by reason of the generosity of its terms, the men of the two armies were freely fraternizing, and the captured supply trains of the Confederates had been placed again at their disposal, in order that the half-famished soldiers might be properly fed. Describing this incident in his *Memoirs*, General Grant wrote:

"I said (in talking with General Lee) I took it that most of the men in the ranks were small farmers. The whole country had been so raided by the two armies that it was doubtful whether they would be able to put in a crop to carry themselves and their families throughout the next winter without the aid of the horses they were then riding. The United States did not want them, and I would, therefore, instruct the officers that I left behind, to receive the paroles of his troops, to let every man of the Confederate Army who claimed to own a horse or mule take the animal to his home. Lee remarked again that this would have a happy effect.'

"In making such conditions, in thus recognizing the vast difficulties of consolidating the peace won through years of suffering and privation, there spoke the great, true heart of the man who could see into the future and realize its problems.

"Many years later, when his life was ebbing, and he struggled to the end of his memoirs, all the American people knew of his brave fight, and the inevitable outcome, and the man of magnanimity found himself the recipient of a genuinely nation-wide sympathy. His acknowledgment in the closing paragraph of his exceptional book reveals the soul of a great life. Concerning these kindly expressions he wrote, at the very conclusion of his *Memoirs*:

"I am not egotist enough to suppose all this significance should be given because I was the object of it. But the war between the States

was a very bloody and a very costly war. One side or the other had to yield principles they deemed dearer than life before it could be brought to an end. I commanded the whole of the mighty host engaged on the victorious side. I was, no matter whether deservedly so or not, a representative of that side of the controversy. It is a significant and gratifying fact that Confederates should have joined heartily in this spontaneous move. I hope the good feeling inaugurated may continue to the end.'

"He saw union follow disunion, but it was not his to live to see complete concord where discord had flourished. I wish he somehow might know that in the more than a third of a century since his one and only surrender, the indissoluble ties of union have been more firmly riveted, and in the shared burdens and triumphs of American progress we have indeed continued at peace at home. Geographical sectionalism is only a memory now, and Mason and Dixon's line remains only a historical record, where an ambiguity in the Federal Constitution was wiped out, and the Nation resumed the onward march on its destined way.

"Seemingly, it was a long time in which to re-establish a concord so manifestly essential to the Nation's greater achievements, but the understanding of the magnificent Lee was not universal throughout the South, the magnanimity of Grant was not manifest throughout the North. Wounds had to be healed, and partisan politics temporarily profitted more in irritation than in healing. But the war with Spain consecrated North and South to a common cause, and the sacrifice and nation-wide service in the World War revealed the common American soul. Grant, the great nationalist, who appraised union and nationality above all the frightful cost and suffering, would rejoice to acclaim the Republic of today.

"I do not mean to say that everywhere in our land we are all in complete accord about fundamentals of government or the basic principles upon which society is founded. But the sectionalism of Grant's and Lee's time has been effaced, and the geographical divisions which hindered the formation of the Union, and later threatened its disruption, have given way to the far less menacing divisions which have challenged all civilization, and which make the ferment out of which all progress comes. We are today incontestably one people, with a common purpose, universal pride, nation-wide confidence, and one flag. The contentions which beset us are not ours alone, they are the irritants to civilization throughout the world. They are not to be ignored, but they have never halted the human procession, and will not hinder the progress of this firmly founded Republic.

"Grant was himself the supreme example of American opportunity. Standing before his humble birthplace, amid the surroundings of his obscure boyhood life, one doubts if three-



quarters of a century ago anyone should have sought here for the military chieftain of a century. We have not a few, even today, who think small-town vision to be pitifully circumscribed. And yet this little Clermont County furnished in Ulysses S. Grant and Henry C. Corbin two of the thirteen lieutenant generals who have been commissioned in all our history.

"Grant had even less of likelihood to eminence than his unpromising and unprophectic beginning. There was the suggestion of mediocrity in his development, and even the steadfastness of his early manhood was stamped with failure. But there was the inheritance of quality, and he dwelt and grew rugged in the freedom of democracy.

"Even the beckoning opportunity of war left him seemingly unfavored by fate. Politically he was out of accord with the Master Martyr who became his commander in chief. But he believed in Union and the Nation supreme. He brought to the armed service preparedness to command, sturdiness of purpose, patience and forbearance, great generosity of soul, and a confidence never to be shaken. The seizure of opportunity, more to serve than to achieve, made him victor, and the quiet man, garbed in failure at Galena, marched to the surpassing heights of military glory. All conquering in command and magnanimous in his triumph, the world saw the soldier and the man, the soldier adored and the man beloved.

"Other military leaders hitherto had mounted to lofty heights in the annals of human history. It is useless to compare, but it is befitting to recall that General Grant was not making conquest of territory or expanding empire. He was only seeking to preserve. He did not fight to enslave; he only battled to sustain Lincoln, whom God inspired to bestow freedom. He did not seek to punish or destroy; he was fighting to save and reunite. In his heart were no drastic terms of surrender; he craved the blessings of peace restored.

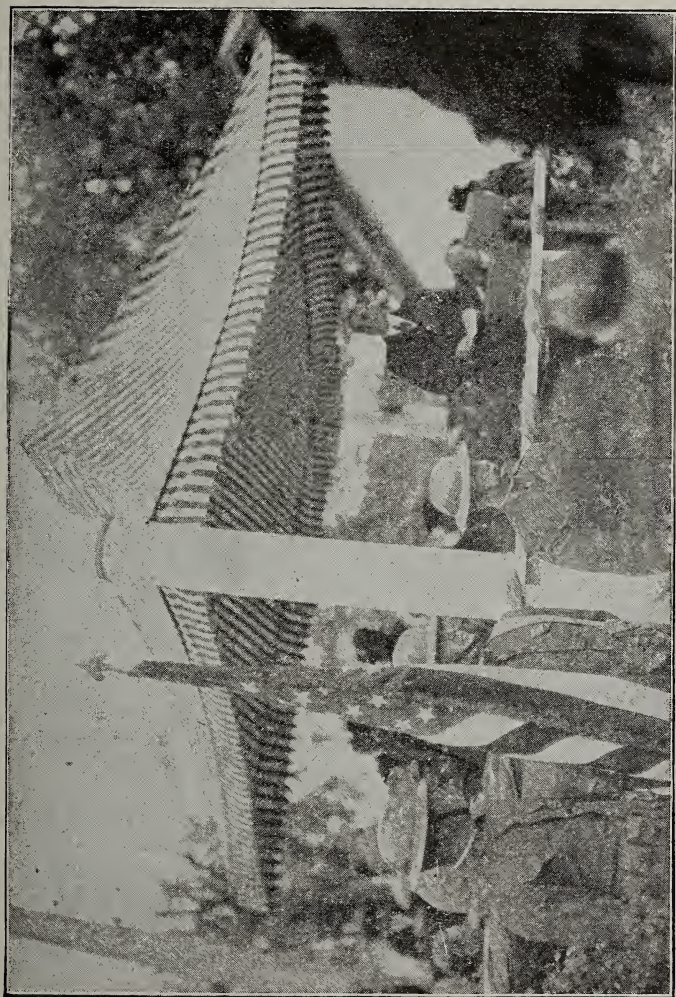
"The other day I received a letter from an old gentleman now living at Annapolis, Maryland, Mr. James W. Owens, who at the age of eighty-two is still practicing law in Maryland's capital city. He related an incident in his own career that was so characteristic of General Grant that it was worth repeating. He told me that he was a soldier in General Lee's army, surrendered at Appomattox, and returned to his home in Maryland. There he was confronted with an order of the Union general commanding the Department of Maryland, which required that all paroled Confederates should take the oath of allegiance. Mr. Owens in his letter to me explained:

“As Dick Taylor and Kirby Smith were still fighting, I declined and was put in prison, and released on condition that I would leave the State. I went with an exiled comrade to see General Grant. We left a note, explaining our banishment, and he immediately issued an order saying that in accepting the surrender of General Lee he had made it a condition that the paroled men should return to their homes, and there remain as long as they observed the conditions imposed. Not designating a loyal or disloyal State, General Grant directed that the general in command in Maryland should rescind his order. I accordingly returned here, and here I am yet, at the age of eighty-two. We veterans of the Confederacy have only a feeling of good will for his memory.’

“I wonder sometimes if the magnanimity of Grant, the dogged, persistent, unalterable Grant in warfare—the Unconditional surrender Grant—would not be helpful in the world today. The great world struggle, which we might reasonably designate the Civil War of western civilization, and in which we so creditably and helpfully participated, left peoples and nations prostrate, hardly knowing which way to turn for restoration. I can not help but believe that something of the spirit with which Grant welcomed victory, something of his eagerness to return to peaceful ways, would have speeded the restoration and hastened the return to prosperity and happiness, without which there can be no abiding peace. He perpetuated no resentments of war. Perhaps he felt his own wounds which came of calumny, recalled how he was humiliated through misunderstanding, and menaced by jealousy and hampered by politics. But he clung to his vision of union restored, and believed the shortest route to peace to be the surest way of lasting triumph.

“Many an incident of the war, many a revelation of his sturdy character showed that his face was set on the one supreme achievement—union and the preserved ark of the American covenant of liberty. No hurting heart, no rivalry, no triumph of other commanders, no promotion of the aspiring or deserving, could remove his gaze from the great end sought. He wrote Sherman, in Grant-like simplicity and sincerity, that he would serve under him as willingly as over him, to attain preserved union. Out of such consecration, out of such unchanging devotion, came his signal victory.

“It is not hard to understand effective endeavor and inspiring leadership where men are consecrated to service. He was not concerned about his individual fortune, he was battling for the Union. He was not seeking self-promotion, he was fighting for the Nation. Rivals sought his removal and disgrace, but he kept on fighting. Lincoln repulsed his enemies. ‘I can’t spare this man; he fights,’ was all Lincoln would say. He fought for a preserved Union and restored Nation, and succeeding generations are richer because of his example. One may guarantee the



PRESIDENT HARDING DELIVERING ADDRESS AT POINT PLEASANT, OHIO.



security of this Republic so long as leaders among men put the country's good above personal and political advantage.

"It is not to be said of Grant that he sought to preserve a political or social order, or even a government, which had especially favored him. He was too little favored by the existing order. Nor can it be said that he sought personal or political popularity. These things were apart from his early life.

"It is conceivable that men are prejudiced in their attitude toward great problems by their own experiences — more by their disappointments than their successes. Grant's own experience in life might have led a less deliberate character to welcome an upheaval, or disunion, or any reversal to the government. But this silent man did not appraise his country by the scale of his own misfortunes.

"He had seen much of the Republic. In boyhood he drove often to Cincinnati and saw the developing city, much as he saw St. Louis later on, in his early married life. Between these two periods of observation he had graduated from West Point, he had served creditably in the Mexican War, and was stationed as a military officer on the Pacific coast.

"He saw the westward course of the star of empire. He saw two typical American cities grow under the impulse of immigration and an expanding Republic. He saw the foreigner come to breathe deeply in the atmosphere of American freedom and stand erect amid the inspirations of American citizenship. He saw the schooling children, rollicking in the laughter of youth and freedom and equality, garbed in essentially the same raiment, no matter whence they came, and walking in the light of the same opportunity. He saw the dreams of the founding fathers more than made true. He cherished the inheritance which came of their heroism, and he chose to hand that inheritance on to his children and his children's children.

"There must have come some such appraisal to this ordinary American boy when grown to manhood. He had yearned for no star, dreamed of no destiny. He merely went the normal way, face ever forward, ready to quicken his step when opportunity called or responsibility summoned. Like most men who have left their names conspicuous on the rolls of public service, responsibility brought forth the greatness of his heart and mind and soul.

"He no more resented criticism than he courted applause. He made no outcry against failure, he trusted his own convictions and clung to them with a calm fidelity which challenged every crisis. His modesty was as notable as his serenity was



reassuring. Surely in such a breast there was an appraisal of his country, which made consciousness of service the compensation for every denial, and a healing salve to every hurt.

"We know he wished the Republic to go on. His 20 years of public and private life, following the war, give proof enough. Though he proclaimed the doctrine of moral disarmament at Appomattox, he believed in a nation equipped for righteous defense. But no aggression was in his breast.

"We know his cherishment of peace, intensified by his intimate knowledge of the horrors of war. I can well believe he would have approved all that the Republic has so recently done in joining other nations in lifting the burdens of armament and promoting understandings which make war less likely. I know he would have approved, because we surrendered no independence, we gave up none of nationality for which he fought, but we have furthered the assurances of peace, which was the supreme yearning of his great, brave heart.

"It is fifty-seven years since Grant garlanded victory with magnanimity. It is thirty-seven years since he laid down the wearied autobiographer's pen and made his one and only surrender. His fame is secure. The Republic has not forgotten and will not forget.

"What of the Republic itself? It will not be unseemly to say that American example and American conception of justice and liberty since then have influenced the world little less significantly than Grant's service to the Union shaped the course of our own land.

"A score of new republics have unfurled their flags, and democracy has opened new avenues of liberty and made justice more secure. Civilization meanwhile has made such advances that there has seemed a divinity pointing the way. And yet that very civilization, more advancing than entrenched, was threatened by the World War, and in war's aftermath established order has been assaulted and revolution has threatened throughout the world. In our own land the enemies within have been more threatening than those without. Greed and anarchy have menaced. But a calm survey gives every reassurance. Twenty centuries of modern civilization could not have been builded on foundations which are false. A century and a half of gratifying American achievement dates from the sacrifices of the founding fathers, and their firm structure was preserved by the patriots whom Grant commanded, and will be held secure by the patriotic citizenship of the Republic today and the grateful Americans of the morrow."

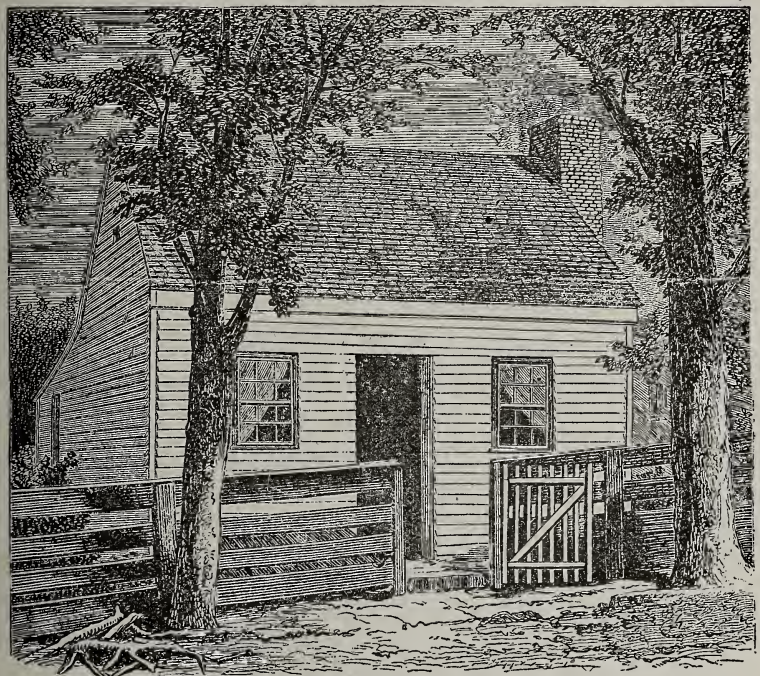
Much has been written about the cottage in which General Grant was born. To those who attended the Centenary at Point Pleasant, a lean-to little kitchen in the rear of a small two story building on the grounds formerly occupied by the Grant cottage was pointed out as a remaining portion of the original cottage. Local histories, however, carry the information that the lean-to kitchen was built after the Grant family had moved away.

Accounts of the building of the Grant cottage and its builders vary somewhat in detail. A history of Clermont and Brown Counties published in 1913 is authority for the statement that, on June 24, 1821, Jesse R. Grant who had earlier come from Ravenna, Ohio, married Hanna Simpson, of Clermont County. Soon afterward they took up their residence in "a strong frame house, covered with good full inch Allegheny pine, and containing two nice rooms with a cellar, where none of their simple needs were stinted." Here Ulysses S. Grant was born April 27, 1822. Jesse R. Grant was a tanner by trade, having followed this occupation on the Western Reserve, at one time with John Brown "of Osawatomie and Harper's Ferry fame." He moved with his young bride to Point Pleasant to take charge of a tannery that had been erected there.

The Grant cottage has sometimes been represented as a "log cabin" and as a "log cabin weather-boarded." In fact, as the building still clearly shows, it was neither but a substantial, small, one-story, frame building of two rooms. We learn that it was provided with a well-walled cellar, ample for the storage of a goodly supply of fruits and vegetables. Very humble and unpreten-

tious it seems today, but at the time when Grant was born it was one of the most comfortable dwellings in the little hamlet.

The cottage has had a rather interesting career. After Grant became famous as warrior and President



THE HOUSE IN WHICH ULYSSES S. GRANT WAS BORN.

This illustration is from a pen sketch made before the building was moved to the State Fair Grounds. The drawing was furnished by Mrs. T. P. Hawkes, Danvers, Massachusetts.

of the United States, the owner conceived the idea that a neat sum might be made by moving the cottage about to fairs and expositions and charging a small fee to see this historic relic. At the time of the Cincinnati Centennial Exposition the cottage, minus the lean-to kitchen



which was left in Point Pleasant, was set up on the banks of the canal outside of the Exposition grounds in the Queen City. Here a young school teacher, thoroughly familiar with the history of the cottage and the distinguished man who was born in it, gave brief talks on both and invited visitors to pay the fee and enter. It was here that Henry T. Chittenden, of Columbus, saw the little cottage and the use to which it was put. He had been well acquainted with General Grant who died only a few years before, in 1885, and as he listened to the talk of the teacher and saw the people coming and going to this unattractive spot on the bank of the canal, this cheap exhibition of the cottage seemed to him little short of profanation. After he left Cincinnati this thought remained with him and he determined to make an effort to rescue the cottage and place it where it would be carefully preserved for future generations, Ohioans especially, to whom it was sure to be an object of increasing interest through coming years.

To effect a purchase of the building, if possible, he took with him to Cincinnati William F. Burdell, then a young banker of Columbus, and at present an officer of the State Savings Bank and Trust Company in that city. Mr. Burdell after spending some time with the owner finally negotiated the purchase for Mr. Chittenden and the cabin was brought from Cincinnati and erected on the Fair Grounds at Columbus, where it was an object of great interest during the Ohio Centennial of 1888. In 1896 the cottage was enclosed in a substantial building of masonry and glass on the Ohio State Fair Grounds, where it is viewed every year by thousands of visitors.

In the removal of the cabin from Cincinnati to



Columbus the teacher who had charge of it when he first saw it was employed by Mr. Chittenden. He aided in the re-erection of the building on the State Fair Grounds and in its presentation to visitors at the Centennial. The building enclosing the Grant cottage was completed in 1896 by the Ohio State Board of Agriculture and at the fair in that year was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies, including an address by Mr. Chittenden. On other pages of this issue will be found the essential portions of that address and an account of the dedicatory ceremonies.

After the speech of President Harding at Point Pleasant, many of the visitors who came on the boats made use of the brief interval before the return in a hasty survey of the little village. In spite of a rather liberal use of the paint brush preparatory to this occasion, one could not help feeling that Point Pleasant, like Rip Van Winkle, was waking up from the sleep of a century and rather confusedly rubbing its eyes. The population is now perhaps not more than it was one hundred years ago and the industrial enterprise of the place when little Ulysses S. Grant first opened his eyes to the light was without doubt greater than it is today. Someone has said that in Europe a village expects always to remain so; in America every village expects to become a city. It may seriously be doubted whether this ambitious expectation is entertained in Point Pleasant today. There has sprung up recently, however, if we may credit report, an ambition to establish a national or state park in Clermont County on the Ohio that will include the historic and delightfully situated village of Point Pleasant.

One of the visitors on this occasion saw a flag waving from a small building at the street corner in which a restaurant was established for the day. This appeared to be a service flag of the World War. On it were twenty-five stars, four of them gold stars. He stepped into the restaurant and asked the significance of the flag — adding that he presumed it represented the contribution of the village to the World War.

“Does that flag indicate the number of men who went from Point Pleasant to the World War?” he asked.

“I don’t know,” said the woman at the counter. “Have a cup of coffee?”

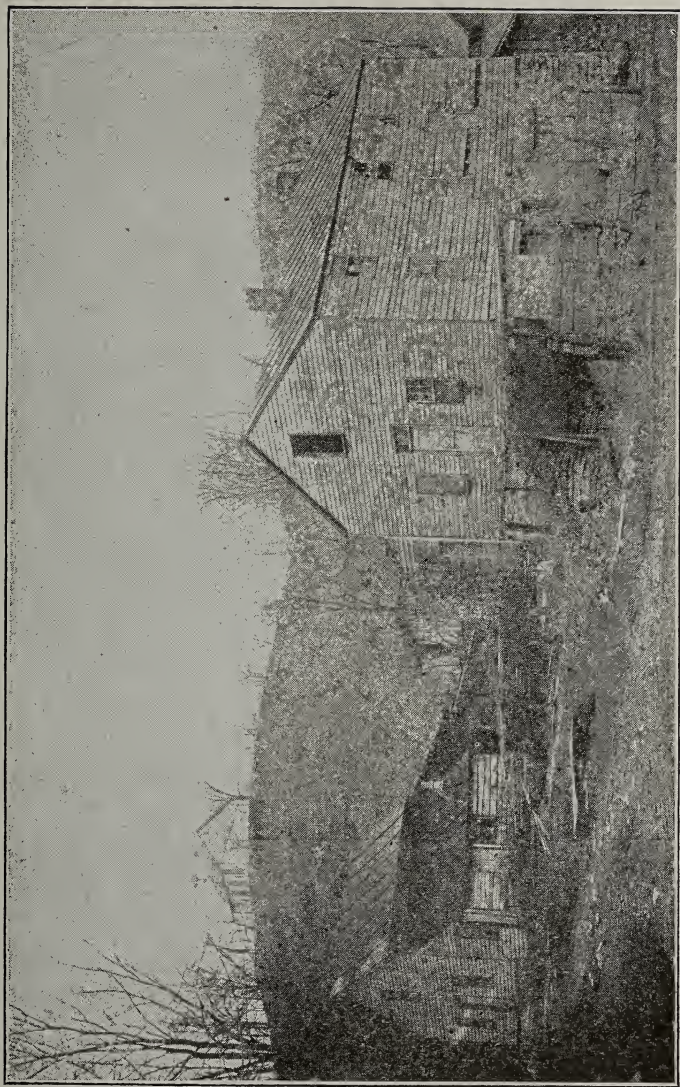
“Yes, please,” said the visitor, hoping still to elicit some information. “Did four of the soldier boys from this place lose their lives in the war?”

“I don’t know,” was the response. “Have a sandwich?”

As the sandwiches were not especially inviting in the rather gloomy little room the visitor passed on. He was kindly directed by a citizen of the village to the old tannery, still standing, which Jesse Grant managed while he was in Point Pleasant.

It appears that the father of General Grant was very successful in a business way during his short stay at Point Pleasant. He remained there but twenty-two months and when he moved to Georgetown, the county seat of Brown County, he took with him in addition to his little family eleven hundred dollars “of which one thousand was in silver, which proves that he was one in a thousand.”

After the conclusion of the program at Point Pleas-



GRANT TANNERY BUILDING, POINT PLEASANT, O.

A dwelling house to the reader's left and schoolhouse on the hill.

ant, the President's boat, followed in order by the other vessels, returned without incident of note to the city of Cincinnati, from which later the President and his party proceeded to Washington.

#### CELEBRATION AT BETHEL, CLERMONT COUNTY, OHIO

The morning dawn of April 28 was cloudy and cold but early in the forenoon the skies cleared, the sun shone brightly and the weather was ideal for the second day of the Grant Centenary at the historic village of Bethel.

One coming from the humble hamlet of Point Pleasant for the first time to Bethel is agreeably surprised on his arrival. The village impresses him at once with the fact that here is a wide awake, modern, progressive community. What the ambitions of Bethel are we did not learn, but there is no reason why the village should not in due time become a prosperous city. A fine modern school building has recently been erected. A number of churches are in evidence. The merchants along the main thoroughfare seem to be prosperous. Manufacturing establishments have been built up in recent years. Comfortable residences have been erected along the well paved streets. What the visitor sees on either hand impresses him with the thought that here would certainly be a pleasant place to live.

At Point Pleasant, as one looked over the vast assembly on the shore and the hillside he naturally asked himself whether these people all came here to honor a general and president who years ago passed away, or to welcome and applaud the president of today who came to deliver the principal address. At Bethel and on the following day at Georgetown, the interest in the



event celebrated answered any mental questions in regard to what called forth the crowds of people. Two United States Senators, Willis and Pomerene, spoke at these two places. President Harding was not present. Many of the persons assembled had heard the United States Senators before, and while the presence of either of them would call forth good sized audiences in any part of the state, the personalities of the speakers at the celebrations in Bethel and Georgetown would not alone account for the vast audiences. The correspondent of the *Cincinnati Enquirer* estimated the crowd that listened attentively to the address of Senator Willis at twelve thousand. The exercises were introduced by an invocation, music and remarks by the chairman of the day. An eloquent address was delivered by Congressman Kearns who paid a glowing tribute to "that remnant of the grand army that followed Grant." Many veterans of the Civil War occupied places of honor on the speakers' stand. The following paper written by Miss Louise Abbott, a school teacher of Covington, Kentucky, but a resident of Bethel, was read in her absence by Honorable Charles A. Brannock, an attorney of the village and former State Representative:

"THE GRANTS IN BETHEL

"In 1840 there came to the village of Bethel the family of the man whom we meet today to honor. Jesse R. Grant and Hannah Simpson Grant with their family lived first in the house on Plane Street now occupied by Mr. George Clare. Later they moved into the residence afterward known as the Allen House, and finally Mr. Grant bought the property across the street built by Senator Morris, and here the Grant family remained during their residence in Bethel. The front portion of this house, which stood on this spot, was destroyed by fire many years ago and the remaining part of the building was razed recently.

"For the following information we are indebted to Dr. W. E.  
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Thompson, who remembers well the Grant family and Ulysses S. Grant as a cadet at West Point; to Mrs. Ella Beck, who remembers the family in Bethel, and to the late Ezekiel South and N. B. Morris, early residents of Bethel who a number of years ago gave the writer some very interesting reminiscences of the Grant family.

"It is a well known fact that Ulysses had been appointed to West Point before the family came to Bethel from Georgetown, so the earliest memories of him in this town are as a cadet, when he came home to visit his parents. The story of his experience with Harrison Scott has been told by the great general himself in his *Memoirs* and retold by others so often that it is not necessary to repeat it here. The sequel, however, was omitted because of the modesty of General Grant, and we shall tell it later.

"Dr. Thompson gives us the following description of the parents of Ulysses S. Grant: Jesse R. Grant was a man of rather sedate manners, large, bony frame, dark hair, high cheek bones, and wore burnside whiskers. He was near sighted and slightly stooped. Mrs. Grant was a small, quiet, good-looking woman.

"The names of the younger children were Samuel, Clarissa, Virginia, Orville and Mary. While their elder brother was at West Point, these were in school in the old three-story brick building in Bethel, which stood north of the present school building.

"The tannery owned by Jesse R. Grant was at the southwest corner of Charity and Water Streets. It was a large frame building, part of which had been the old Baptist Church. The teams used to haul to Cincinnati the great rolls of tanned hides and bring back quantities of buffalo skins for tanning. It took about three years to complete the tanning process. When the time came to dry the skins, they were hung on the fences. Dr. Thompson tells us that he has seen them on the fences on both sides of the road from the corner of the Floyd property down the hill to the tannery, west on Water Street to Union and south on Union to the top of the hill. The Jesse R. Grant tannery must have been a big affair in those days. The only sale for leather in the village was to Moses Warden, a saddler, so the greater part of it was taken by wagon to Cincinnati.

"When the village was incorporated, Jesse R. Grant was elected first Mayor and was twice re-elected. There are some few documents extant which bear his signature as Mayor. One of these, now in the possession of Mr. A. H. Beck, is a deposition by James Denham, son of the proprietor of Bethel, in which he tells of the widening of Plane Street by consent of the property owners. A number of tools used in the tannery are now in the

possession of citizens of Bethel. Some years ago L. W. Pemberton bought the old work bench used in the tannery and made many canes, paper weights, etc. from it. These are to be found in a number of Bethel homes.

"An incident related concerning a trial over which Jesse R. Grant presided, is as follows: Two men were brought before him for fighting. The trial was held in the currying room of the tannery. Some small boys had climbed upon a heap of rolls of tanned hides. During the proceedings, one of these boys rolled off and fell with his legs knee-deep in a tub of dubbing which



GRANT HOME AT BETHEL, OHIO.

was very close to the Mayor's chair. As this mixture consisted of fish-oil and tallow, the boy's predicament gave much amusement to the crowd.

"While Ulysses Grant was at home, he rode a beautiful bay horse named Agua Nova, which belonged to his father. He rode well and was often seen riding about with one of the Morris girls who was an accomplished horse-woman. During his service in the Mexican War, his father spoke with much pride of his conduct in the war, and well he might, for the young man was already showing his great ability as a military man. Upon his return



from the Mexican War, he brought with him a little Mexican boy who afforded much entertainment to the Bethel people for a time by lassoing children and playing pranks. He proved a little too much of a charge, however, and was sent back home.

"The next lengthy stay of Ulysses S. Grant in Bethel was after his marriage to Miss Julia Dent, of St. Louis. They made this their home for some time and two of their children, Nellie and Ulysses, Jr., were born here. In 1854 Jesse Grant moved to Covington, Ky., and the Bethel people saw little of them until the time of the Civil War; then some of the boys from our town renewed their acquaintance with the great general. In his *Memoirs* General Grant speaks of his boyish pride in his uniform and how the jeers of a Cincinnati boy and the teasing of Scott in Bethel made him cease to wear it.

"A soldier from Bethel, who was with the 59th O. V. I. at Pittsburg Landing, says that in the afternoon of the second day's fight, he heard cheers at a distance which came down the line as there rode in front of the ranks a small inconspicuous man covered with mud. His horse was plunging along throwing the mud in every direction. The man was General Ulysses S. Grant, one of the most unassuming men in the whole army.

"Now for the sequel of the story of Harrison Scott. He was about Grant's age and when the Civil War began was one of the first to enlist, going with the three months' men. When his time of service expired he re-enlisted and was with the army of the Cumberland in the campaign around Chattanooga. In the fall of 1863 after the battles of Chickamauga, Mission Ridge and Lookout Mountain, Harrison Scott became afflicted with rheumatism. He was forced to walk with two canes and was very despondent. He was at this time 44 years of age. One day, he said to some of the boys, (we have this from Mr. F. M. Frazier), 'I am going home.' Of course they laughed and asked him how he expected to get to go. He told them to wait and see. He then went to General Grant's headquarters. The orderly told him he could not see the General as he was busy. 'Will you tell him that Harrison Scott wants to see him?' The orderly did so and received instructions to admit Scott. General Grant received him cordially, asked about Bethel friends and then before the poor man could make a request for a furlough, his commander began to speak of his affliction and said he thought Scott had better go home. By order of General Grant himself, Harrison Scott was discharged for disability. He came home, recovered from the rheumatism and again enlisted. He was discharged for the last time in 1865, having the unusual record of being honorably discharged three times. This little story goes to show the for-



giving nature of General Grant, and also that the rather annoying conduct of Scott as a young man was little more than a prank, and not a matter for deep offense.

"The last visit of General Grant to this neighborhood was in the early eighties. The writer's father, Dr. Julius D. Abbott, was attending physician to Mr. Samuel Simpson, an uncle of Gen. Grant, who lived on the old Simpson farm about four miles west of Bethel. One morning he went down to see the old gentleman and found him very much excited and very happy. He was to have a birthday dinner, and a number of his relatives were to come, among them, his nephew, Ulysses. As Dr. Abbott drove away from the house he saw walking across the fields from the railroad station, the greatest military man of our country, ex-president of the United States, lately returned from a tour of the world in which he had been honored in every land, now coming to give a day's pleasure to his old uncle who was in failing health.

"We shall close with a little bit of local history which seems to prove that Providence surely manages the affairs of men.

"In the old cemetery in the north-western part of our town lies the body of Thomas Morris, the first United States Senator to speak in the Senate against slavery. He was ahead of his times, became very unpopular because of his views, and finally lost his seat in the Senate. However, he felt that some time the slave would be free, and hurled defiance in vigorous language at his opponents.

"Now see how strangely events come about. While Thomas Morris was a lawyer in Bethel, he aided a young man named Thomas L. Hamer to get legal training. This young man became quite distinguished, and was finally elected to Congress. He appointed Ulysses S. Grant as a cadet to West Point. Grant led the forces that freed the slaves. Bethel surely played a great part in the cause of liberty.

"When the call to arms came such a short time ago, the youth of Bethel responded in a way that showed that they had in their hearts the same love for their native land that inspired to such a successful military career the 'son of a tanner'."

Judge Hugh L. Nichols in introducing Senator Wills praised Congressman Kerns and the Senator for their efficient work in helping to get through Congress the bill that made possible the raising of funds for the Grant Memorial Highway. He also praised in generous terms the achievements and home life of General Grant.

Senator Willis was accorded a cordial greeting. Introductory to his address he stated that the paper prepared by Miss Abbott contained much that he had intended to say. He then delivered his address, which was punctuated at a number of points by hearty applause. He spoke in part as follows:

"FELLOW CITIZENS AND FRIENDS: It is a singular and interesting coincidence that Bethel was the home of the man who did more in his day and place to preserve the foundation of the Union than was done by any other man of his generation and at the same time the home of the man who by his effort was to make possible the erection on that foundation of an enduring structure—an indissoluble union of indestructible states.

"Here the lives of Thomas Morris, the advocate and expounder, and Ulysses S. Grant, the soldier and builder, were inextricably interwoven and here today a grateful people in solemn pride pay tribute to the memory of two of their former citizens. Yet these mighty men, the gift of Bethel and Clermont county to the Nation, are too great in character and achievement to be circumscribed in the narrow compass of village, county or state. Thomas Morris and Ulysses S. Grant belong to the whole Nation, whose freedom they had such a prominent part in preserving.

"In yonder cemetery is a marble shaft bearing an appropriate inscription. Shortly after my arrival in Bethel today I found my way to that monument. No well beaten path to it indicates that this shrine is frequented by the passerby; and yet I felt while there that it was worth the journey from our national capital to stand on this consecrated spot. On nearer approach I read:

THOMAS MORRIS

LATE

U. S. SENATOR

Was Born January 3rd, 1776

Died December 7th, 1844

Unawed by power and  
uninfluenced by flattery  
he was through life the  
fearless advocate of human  
Liberty.

"This inscription is an epitome of the life of Thomas Morris. His twenty years of service in the General Assembly of Ohio furnished constant exemplification of his unfailing, courageous

devotion to free schools, free speech, free soil and free men. His elevation to the United States Senate in 1833 gave larger scope and fuller play to his powers. Unawed by threats, he battled on for the preservation of free government at a time when other great leaders were endeavoring to blow out the moral lights around them in a nation-wide effort to make slavery follow the flag.

"The great triumvirate, Clay, Webster and Calhoun, were a unit in demanding that the constitutional right of petition should be overthrown to the end that the shackles of slavery should be forever riveted on the Republic. Calhoun and Clay, Wright and



*A. E. McCall, Photo., Bethel, 1887.*

**MONUMENT TO THOMAS MORRIS.**

Preston, Buchanan and Leigh, all leaders of the Senate, united in thunderous demand that not only the limbs of slaves but the minds and consciences of men should be fettered and chained. Slavery was to be preserved and extended at any cost; its opponents, few in numbers and limited in influence, were denied the right of even having their petitions heard by Congress.

"In this dark hour one voice rang out in the Senate clear as a bugle call. It summoned the discouraged friends of freedom to battle and sounded uncompromising challenge to any and all who for mere political advantage would enter into a 'covenant with Death and an agreement with Hell.' The speech of Senator Thomas Morris of Ohio, delivered in the Senate on February 9,

1839, has never been excelled in that body in point of courage, logic or far-reaching effect. It awakened a lethargic nation from the stupor of slavery; it saved the foundation on which Grant and his soldiers fought and won.

"The Senate and the whole country were startled by the deliberate boldness of that speech which he concluded with these ringing and prophetic declarations:

"Though our national sins are many and grievous, yet repentance, like that of ancient Nineveh, may yet divert from us that impending danger which seems to hang over our heads as by a single hair. That all may be *safe*, I conclude *that the negro will yet be free.*"

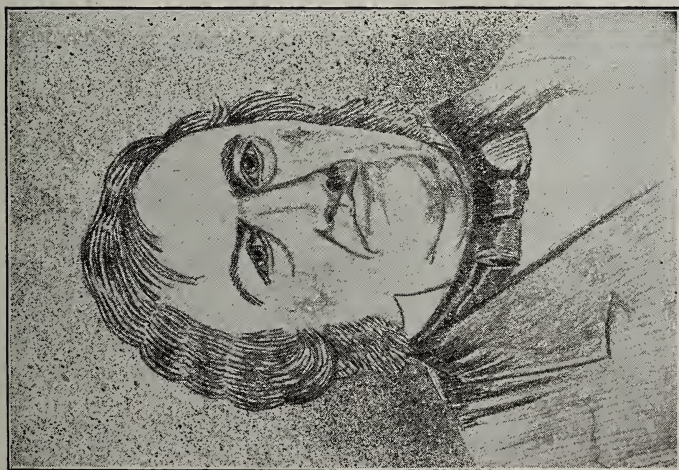
"Ulysses S. Grant and Thomas Morris were brought together in another relationship even more intimate and interesting. Senator Morris was a great lawyer. There came to his law office an awkward country lad seeking an opportunity to study law. Judge Morris took this man into his office and his home. This confidence was not misplaced—the lad became lawyer, Congressman, General—the Honorable Thomas Hamer, long a resident of Bethel, who gave up his life in the Nation's service at Monterey in 1846.

"Thomas L. Hamer and Jesse R. Grant, the father of Ulysses, had been warm friends and belonged to the same debating society. They were of opposite political parties; Hamer was a Democrat and Jesse R. Grant was a Whig. Political questions at this time were the chief topics of discussion and these two men were usually pitted against each other in debate. As General Grant relates in his *Memoirs*,

"They had a warm discussion which finally became angry—over some act of President Jackson, the removal of the deposit of public monies, I think—after which they never spoke until after my appointment. I know both of them felt badly over this estrangement, and would have been glad at any time to come to a reconciliation, but neither would make the advance."

"Near the close of the term of Thomas Morris in the United States Senate, Jesse R. Grant applied to him for the appointment of his son to a cadetship at West Point. He was informed by the Senator that he had no further appointments to his credit but that Congressman Hamer could probably comply with his request. The father of Grant stated that under the circumstances he could not ask any favor from Hamer. Thereupon Senator Morris made a personal request of the congressman that young Grant be given the appointment. Hamer readily assented and, in the language of General Grant, 'This healed the breach between the two, never after reopened.' The intimate friendship of Senator Morris and Jesse R. Grant was the chief influence that opened





SENATOR THOMAS MORRIS,  
(See page 349)



SENATOR FRANK B. WILLIS.

the way for the son of the latter to West Point and his subsequent illustrious career.

"A short time after the appointment of young Grant to the cadetship the term of office of Thomas Morris as United States Senator expired and he went home politically an outcast, repudiated by his own political associates because he had been the uncompromising foe of slavery. The pioneer reformer blazes the way. He is in advance of his time and makes sacrifices for his cause. It is worthy of note in this connection that some of the men who were prominent in reading Senator Morris out of his party and retiring him to private life, in after years espoused his principles and rendered valiant service for a more perfect Union and universal liberty in America. Todd and Brough, both afterwards war governors of Ohio, joined in opposing Morris and preventing his re-election to the United States Senate. In a course which they then condemned in him, a quarter of a century later they found the way to enduring fame.

"Thomas Morris made the good fight. He saved the foundations of constitutional liberty, and although he did not live to know it, he provided the leader who was to build on that foundation.

"Grant began where Morris left off. The afterglow of greatness casts a strange light on life and character and tends to obscure their perfectly human qualities and to ascribe to them a meaning and significance as unwarranted as they are fantastic. Grant was a typical American boy, reared in a good Christian home; he knew how to work and did work on the farm and in the tannery, but it does not seem probable that he pleaded any harder with his father for opportunity to begin work early in the morning than most American boys would do under similar circumstances or that he had to be cautioned by his parents against overwork. The fact is that throughout his life Grant was inclined to be sluggish—he worked best under pressure—he was a ponderous machine that functioned in direct ratio to the size of the task to be done. The first thirty-eight years of his life were not strikingly successful; his first eleven years in the Army would have been forgotten but for his later achievements. In 1860, he was a clerk in a tannery at Galena, Illinois, at the munificent salary of \$600 a year; eight years later he was elected President. A crisis had come big enough to call out all his latent powers.

"General Grant has left a record that indicates clearly his early respect for parental authority. In the winter of 1838-9 when he had returned to his home in Georgetown to spend the Christmas holidays he was informed by his father that he was going to receive an appointment. In answer to his surprised in-

quiry his father told him that it was an appointment to West Point. The son at once declared that he would not go. He tells us what followed in these words: 'He said he thought I would, *and I thought so too, if he did.*' This indicates that he had early acquired the virtue of obedience, perhaps more common in pioneer days than at present. In these times of a lack of respect for law and properly constituted authority the question may well be raised whether as a people our condition might not be vastly improved by a more general inculcation of the ancient and homely virtue of obedience, beginning in the home. Young Grant *thought so too*, if his father did, and he certainly had abundant reason in after years to thank this parent for his interest in his education and the future that it assured.

"From Donelson to Mt. McGregor the life of Ulysses S. Grant is history—he was part of the nation's life, and for a considerable period a very dominant part.

"Shiloh, Vicksburg, Chattanooga, Richmond, Appomattox were the steps by which he mounted the heights of military fame to take place along side Hannibal and Napoleon as one of the greatest captains in history. He was a common-sense commander—he relied more upon action than he did upon Jomini; his theory of warfare he summarized as follows: 'The art of war is simple enough. Find out where your enemy is. Get at him as soon as you can. Strike at him as hard as you can, and keep moving on.'

"Grant maintained from the hour he came to the notice of President Lincoln the unbroken confidence of that great leader. Had it not been for the stoic firmness of the President in sustaining Grant in the Vicksburg campaign, the outcome would have been doubtful. The President said of him, 'I can't spare this man, he fights.' Again he said, 'I rather like this man Grant, I think we will try him a little longer.' To Carpenter, Lincoln said, 'The great thing about Grant is his perfect coolness and persistency of purpose. He is not easily excited and he has the grit of the bull dog; once let him get his teeth in and nothing can shake him off.'

"The great captain was always confident of himself; though modest and quiet, he did not underestimate his own powers. When one of his generals in alarm reported, 'General, Lee is on our flank,' General Grant coolly replied: 'Very well then, we are on General Lee's flank.' In the darkest days of 1864 Grant said, 'I feel as certain of capturing Richmond as I do of dying.'

"His terse expressions as a leader are illustrative of his character. His reply to General Buckner at Fort Donelson was: 'An immediate and unconditional surrender; I propose to move immediately on your works.' Again, after a great disaster in the advance on Richmond, 'I propose to fight it out on this line if it



takes all summer.' But while he was oak and rock in battle, he was generous as a woman and tender as a child. After General Buckner surrendered at Fort Donelson, General Grant remembered the friendly help given him by Buckner when he had been left penniless in New York. In General Buckner's own words, describing the surrender, he says: 'General Grant left the officers of his own army and followed me with that modest manner peculiar to himself into the shadows, and there tendered me his purse. In the modesty of his nature he was afraid the light would witness this act of generosity and sought to hide it from the world.'

"The credit for the final success of the great campaigns in the East for the capture of Richmond must be adjudged by impartial history to belong to General Grant. That Mr. Lincoln sought to interfere as little as possible with the military affairs after General Grant took charge of the army will be shown by the following letter:

"WASHINGTON, April 30, 1864.

"Lieutenant-General Grant: Not expecting to see you before the spring campaign opens, I wish to express in this way my entire satisfaction with what you have done up to this time, so far as I understand it. The particulars of your plan I neither know nor seek to know. You are vigilant and self-reliant, and [I put no] restraints or constraints upon you. While I am very anxious that any great disaster or capture of any of our men in great numbers shall be avoided, I know that these points are less likely to escape your attention than they would be mine. If there be anything wanting which is within my power to give, do not fail to let me know it. And now with a brave army and a just cause, may God sustain you!

"Yours very truly,  
"A. LINCOLN,"

"And then when the last shot had been fired and the last drop of blood shed the great leader was magnanimous, kind and generous. His treatment of General Lee and his army at Appomattox did more than any other one thing to make the South realize that after all we were all citizens of the common country with a common hope and a single flag. Happily now, North and South are united, each proud of the heroism of the other and rejoicing in the achievements of the heroes in blue and gray—all Americans.

"Lincoln's prophecy had been realized—

"Though passion may have strained it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic cords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearth-stone all over this broad land, will yet again swell the chorus of the Union when touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our natures.'

"The conquering hero said, 'Let us have peace.' The memory of this patient, silent, courageous, typical American is one of the



mightiest forces making for union and the maintenance of our institutions.

"General Grant never sought political preferment. He was elevated to the presidency in response to the people's demands. As President he was as courageous as he had been as General. When, following the financial difficulties of 1873, his own party lost its sense of proportion and passed the inflation bill to authorize an increase in the greenbacks to four hundred millions, he bravely vetoed the action of the Congress, believing it to be a departure from the true principles of sound finance.

"Grant stood by his friends even to his own hurt. Some of them sought to use their connection with the old hero for their own personal profit. General Grant was loth to believe that any human being could entertain a motive so foreign to his own thought. When criticised because he stood by a friend who was under fire, Grant said: 'The true test of friendship, after all, isn't to stand by a man when he is in the right; anyone can do that; the true test is to stand by him when he is in the wrong.'

"As he stood by his friends, so he remembered his enemies in a thoroughly human way, and sometimes he castigated them mercilessly. It will be recalled that when it was brought to his attention that a certain prominent leader did not believe in the Bible, Grant said, 'Certainly not, he does not believe in it because he did not write it himself.'

"His San Domingo policy was criticised bitterly at the time it was announced. Yet subsequent events have shown that Grant was not far from right in this matter.

"While educated for war, he was devoted to peace; the treaty of Washington and the settlement of the Alabama claims was the first long step forward in the direction of arbitration and world peace.

"The Washington Conference of 1921 was in no small degree an outgrowth of Grant's policy of peace and international goodwill. American ships now sail unimpeded through the Panama Canal—Grant foresaw and planned it. His statesmanship was as far sighted as his generalship. Modestly, quietly, patiently, he planned and executed.

"Great in war and official station, he was majestic in private life. Imposed upon by trusted friends, the meager savings of a life-time were lost in an hour and the old hero had to begin over again to earn support for wife and family. Already fatal disease had laid its palsyng hand upon him. Toiling at Mt. McGregor to finish his memoirs he looked death in the face without a tremor. He stoically worked on that he might pay his creditors and provide for those dependent upon him. He won his last fight and

when the spirit fled a sorrowing world cherished the memory of this mighty oak whose falling 'left a lonesome place against the sky.'

"So lived and toiled and struggled and achieved this sturdy, upright, patient, modest, typical American, whose life is an inspiration and whose memory is a benediction to us all."

Senator Willis' tribute to former United States Senator Thomas Morris was delivered with earnestness and evident sympathy for this distinguished Ohio pioneer statesman and early advocate of emancipation when his was the only voice that was heard in favor of the freedom of the slave in the United States Senate. Thomas Morris had an interesting career that is identified with the early history of Ohio. His life, written by his son, B. F. Morris, was published in a volume of 408 pages in 1856. The dates of the birth and death of this good citizen and courageous statesman are indicated on his monument in the old burying ground on the outskirts of Bethel. Dr. W. E. Thompson, a physician of Bethel still in active practice at the age of eighty-six, when he was a child, frequently saw Senator Morris and has a very distinct recollection of his personal appearance, which by the way is not referred to in the life of Morris by his son. Dr. Thompson is doubtless the only man living who from memory could give a portraiture of the Senator.

To Morris, more perhaps than to any other man of the time, was due the appointment of Grant to the cadetship at West Point. He had been almost a father to Honorable Thomas L. Hamer who made this appointment. Hamer was under many obligations to him and in large measure because of this acceded to the suggestion of Senator Morris. General Grant in his *Memoirs*



DR. W. E. THOMPSON,  
Bethel, Ohio.



JOHN HANK,  
National Chorister of G. A. R.

relates that the vacancy which he was appointed to fill was not generally known to exist at the time. Bartlett Bailey, a son of Dr. Bailey, next door neighbor to the Grant family, had been given the appointment, but his failure to meet the entrance requirements at West Point left a vacancy. General Grant thus describes the situation at that time:

"There were no telegraphs in those days to disseminate news rapidly, no railroads west of the Alleghenies, and but few east; and above all, there were no reporters prying into the people's private affairs. Consequently it did not become generally known that there was a vacancy at West Point from our district until I was appointed. I presume Mrs. Bailey confided to my mother the fact that Bartlett had been dismissed, and that the doctor had forbidden his son's return home."

Jesse R. Grant, learning of this vacancy, promptly requested the assistance of his friend, Senator Morris, to secure, if possible, the appointment for his son as already related. The appointment was made while the Grant family was still living in Georgetown, the county seat of Brown County. The father of General Grant always manifested a deep interest in the welfare of his children and gave them the best possible education within his limited means. He was especially eager that his eldest son should start in life with the advantages of the course at West Point and to this interest in no small degree was due young Grant's opportunity to enter upon the path to success and distinction.

While Grant was at West Point his father moved from Georgetown to Bethel. That he was a man of influence in the community is attested by the fact that he was elected the first mayor of the village when it was incorporated.\* The docket which he kept in his own

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\* Jesse R. Grant had previously been mayor of Georgetown.



handwriting was on exhibition on the occasion of the Centenary. It is an interesting document and it is to the credit of those who own it that it has been thus carefully preserved to the present time. We learn from its pages that the first case tried before Mayor Grant was an "action for shooting a pet deer, damage \$10." This case was tried July 18, 1851. The plaintiff, C. R. Crumm, by decision of the mayor received \$4.00. The costs in the case amounted to \$5.93. The next case was tried February 4 to February 6, 1852. The record of the case is as follows:

STATE OF OHIO

V. S.

WM. & JAMES HARP

PEACE WARRANT

BETHEL, Feb 4th, 1852.

On complaints of J. A. I. Ross warrant issued directed to A. Senteny Marshall of Bethel. Warrant returned served and "I have the Defts. present Feb. 4th, 1852."

A. Senteny Marshall.

Subpeona issued for five witnesses.

"Returned served. A. Senteny Marshall."

Feb. 5th Subpeona issued for 10 witness for the Deft. Returned "Served. A. Senteny Marshall."

Feb. 5th John Patten sworn and examined, when on motion of the Deft. the further consideration of the subject is postponed until tomorrow evening.

Feb. 6th on application of Deft. subpeona issued for two witnesses.

Returned "Served.

A Senteny Marshall."

The parties met at the school house at early candlelight, with Counsel. Defts. Counsel moved to quash the proceedings for informality. Motion overruled. Whereupon he filed the following exception:

"STATE OF OHIO

V. S.

WILLIAM & JOHN HARP

The Defts. excepts the opinion of the Mayor, in this that the Deft. moved to quash the proceedings, in this that there is

a variance between affidavit and the warrant in this that the matter set forth in the affidavit varies from the warrant."

On motion of Defts. Counsel the Defts. were ordered tried separately. Whereupon James Harp was put upon his trial.

Subpeona issued for Hester Ann Noble.

Returned "Served. A. Senteny Marshall."

Harrison Coulter, William Beck, John Holmes, J. A. I. Ross, Jr., John Irwin and Hester Ann Noble, were sworn and examined when Defts. Council moved to discharge the Prisoner on the grounds that the state has failed to prove the time and place when the alleged offense had been committed, also that the testimony was insufficient to make out the case. The first objection being overruled, the parties proceeded to argue the merits of the case. Whereupon it is considered by me that the testimony is insufficient to bind Deft. to keep the peace and that therefore the Deft. James Harp be discharged, and that judgment be rendered against J. A. I. Ross the complaining witness for his costs therein expended; and that James Harp pay the costs he made; which is one dollar seventy cents besides his witnesses who were not called on to testify.

J. R. GRANT, *Mayor.*

Litigation in the court of Mayor Grant seems to have been rather infrequent as only two other cases are recorded, one an "action of trespass" and the other "assault and battery."

Jesse R. Grant and Senator Thomas Morris were very close friends, as may be inferred from what has already been related. Just what was the basis of this intimate friendship has not been fully stated. Possibly agreement on the slavery question had something to do with it. General Grant prior to the Civil War was not in sympathy with the abolition movement. In the presidential election of 1856 he voted for James Buchanan for president of the United States. His father, however, was strangely opposed to slavery. Possibly his contact with the anti-slavery sentiment of the Western Reserve before he came to Clermont had something to do with his opinion on this subject and it is reasonable

State of Ohio } Peace warrant  
Wm. S. }  
Wm. S. }  
Wm. S. }

Bathel Feb 4. 1852  
On complaint of J. A. S. Ross  
Warrant issued directed to A. Sonteny  
Marshal of Bathel. Warrant returned  
served, & I have the debt returned  
Feb 4. 1852." A. Sonteny Marshal

Feb 6. 1852 on application of Lefft  
Subjerna issued, for two witnesses  
Returned served

A. Sonteny Marshal  
The parties met at the do. court house  
at early court right, with Counsel. Lefft  
Counsel moved to quash the proceedings  
for informality. Motion over ruled. Where  
upon the filed the following exception

The Prisoner on the grounds that the State has failed to prove that <sup>him</sup> & place where the alleged offence had been committed, also that the testimony was insufficient to make out the case. The first objection being over ruled, the parties proceeded to argue the merits of the case. Whereupon it is considered by me that the testimony is insufficient to bind Sept to keep <sup>Sept</sup> free, and that therefore the Sept Jan Murph be discharged, & that judgment be rendered against J. A. & Robt the complaining witnesses for his costs therein expended; and that James Murph pay the costs he made; which is one dollar & seventy cents, besides two witness, who were not called on to testify

J. R. Grant Mayor



to surmise that this had something to do with the intimate relations of Morris and the father of Grant near the close of the career of the former in the United States Senate.

After Grant had finished his course at West Point he returned to Ohio and spent some time at the home of his father in Bethel. Still later, after he had married, his family lived in Bethel. Two of his children, Nelly and Ulysses S., Jr., were born here. The latter now lives in San Diego, California, where he owns the hotel which he has named in honor of his distinguished father.

It is needless to say that Bethel abounds in legends and secondhand reminiscences of General Grant. Much of this is interesting and a goodly portion of it doubtless authentic, but space will not permit its inclusion here. It is rather remarkable that Thomas Morris should have been defeated in a race for Congress by Thomas L. Hamer,\* the youth whom he had befriended and taken into his family, that Morris should have been elected 'within two months after his defeat' to the United States Senate, that he and Hamer served the same length of time in Congress, that the latter was succeeded by the son of the former, Jonathan D. Morris, who remained firm in his allegiance to the Democratic party after his father had been read out of it and had died in the service of the Liberty party. Jonathan D. Morris delivered a eulogy on Hamer in the House of Representatives and served two terms as his successor.

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\*The vote in this election was as follows: Hamer, 2,171; Fishback, 2,069; Morris, 2,028; Russell, 403. Fishback was the Whig candidate.

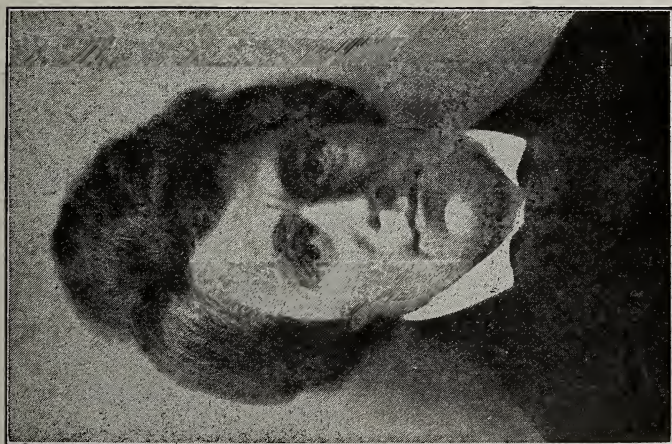
Assuredly Bethel figured conspicuously in the early political history of Ohio.

#### CELEBRATION AT GEORGETOWN, BROWN COUNTY

Fine weather greeted the thousands who flocked to Georgetown Saturday, April 29, 1922, to do honor to the memory of General Grant and hear the scholarly and eloquent address of Senator Atlee Pomerene.

Following chronologically the years of Grant's life in Ohio, the celebration at Georgetown should have preceded that at Bethel. When Grant was about eighteen months old, in the fall of 1823, his father moved with his family to the former village, the county seat of Brown County. Here young Grant made his home until he was seventeen years old, in 1839, when he went to West Point. Here he attended school in the little brick building that is still standing. Here his father built a tannery and a substantial brick residence, probably at the time the best dwelling in Brown County. All these buildings have been carefully preserved and are pointed out with pride by citizens to visitors. In recent years the residence of Jesse R. Grant has been somewhat improved by the addition of a comfortable veranda, but the main walls stand as they were almost a century ago. It is a two story building and must still be numbered among the substantial and attractive homes of Georgetown, aside from its historical importance.

Here Thomas L. Hamer lived at the zenith of his career and to this village his remains were brought after his death near Monterey in the Mexican War. In that conflict he had attained the rank of brigadier general.



THOMAS L. HAMER.



MONUMENT TO THOMAS L. HAMER.

At the time of his death he had been elected again to Congress. He was succeeded, as already noted, by Jonathan D. Morris, the son of Senator Thomas Morris, who in 1844 had died in the service of the anti-slavery cause.

There are many interesting biographical sketches of Thomas L. Hamer and an extended review of his life would be superfluous here. After teaching school for a time he was admitted to the practice of the law. He was an eminent orator at a time when orators in Ohio, especially in the southern counties, were comparatively more numerous than they are today. His forensic training he received in the rural debating societies, which were then maintained in every school district. Politics furnished the absorbing topics of discussion in those days. Hamer, the Democratic orator of the time, rivaled, and his friends claimed even surpassed the oratory of famous Tom Corwin. While the latter was fulminating against the Mexican War and declaring that if he were a Mexican he would welcome the invading soldiers from the United States with "bloody hands to hospitable graves," Hamer was vigorously supporting that war and backing his eloquent words in the uniform of a brigadier general on the field of battle. It has sometimes been said that Hamer's service to his district was forgotten and that not even a headstone had been erected at his grave.

The old cemetery in Georgetown today presents a rather desolate appearance. Tombstones, some of them humble and some of them large and artistically wrought, are strewn about somewhat promiscuously. Not a few of them have broken in the fall. Most of them, how-



ever, are still erect, but the grounds for the most part are overgrown with tall grass, weeds, trailing vines and vigorous shrubs that run riot over the graves. In one part of the burying ground a substantial enclosure marks the final resting place of Thomas L. Hamer and his wife. No tombstone or monument is erected to him here, but the flat stone over the grave of Mrs. Hamer bears testimony to the fact that she was an exemplary Christian mother, devoted to her husband and children.

The citizens of Georgetown and Brown County, however, have appropriately honored the memory of Hamer by erecting in the Court House yard of the village a substantial granite monument. This was unveiled with appropriate ceremonies in 1917. A number of the descendants of Hamer were present on that occasion.

The speaking on the afternoon of April 29 was from a platform in front of the large grandstand on the Fair Grounds. Every available seat was occupied and a large crowd listened standing. After invocation there was music and introductory addresses by Congressman Kearns and Judge Hugh L. Nichols. A very interesting feature of the preliminary exercises were some songs of Civil War time in which a few of the veterans, led by comrade John Hank, heartily joined. Mr. Hank attended all three of the celebrations and at Bethel as at Georgetown he was heard by throngs of people who listened to the songs of the sixties that he sang in excellent voice despite his seventy-seven years. Hank is a man of commanding presence, tall and as

straight as when he marched in the Union Army sixty years ago.

Judge Nichols in well chosen words introduced Senator Pomerene who spoke as follows:

"Mr. Chairman, Judge Nichols, members of the Grand Army of the Republic, ladies and gentlemen, we come to Georgetown today to do homage to the great captain of the Civil War. I understand with what pardonable pride the citizens of this good community recite the boyhood deeds of him who rose from comparative obscurity in a few short years to become the great commander of our great armies in suppressing the rebellion.

"General Grant's boyhood days in Georgetown did not differ materially from the youthful days of many Americans in every community in the country. All who knew him or the history of his generation will recognize in him a boy clear of head, pure of heart, and clean of hand. His parents did not permit him to indulge in idleness. He did not fritter away his days. He always was occupied either at school or in his father's tannery or with his team. He was never idle.

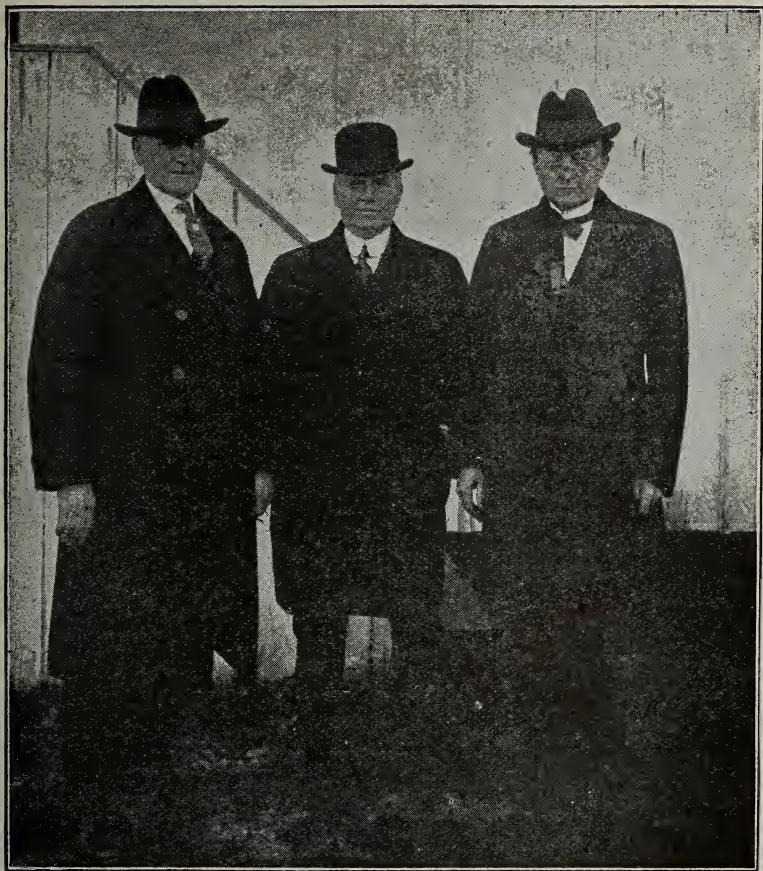
"His father must have been a very positive character—ambitious for his son's advancement, as any father should be. Full of hope, aye, of confidence, in his future, he determined that his son should have every advantage which his limited means would permit him to give.

"Grant, the boy, does not seem at first to have been ambitious for a military career. In his personal memoirs he tells us that his father had received a letter from Hon. Thomas Morris, United States Senator from Ohio, and after reading it, he said:

" 'Ulysses, I believe you are going to receive the appointment.' 'What appointment?' I inquired. 'To West Point; I have applied for it.' 'But I won't go,' I said. He said, 'He thought I would,' and then General Grant adds, quaintly, 'I thought so, too, if he did.'

"Again he tells us that a military life 'had no charms' for him, and he did not 'have the faintest idea of staying in the Army even if I should be graduated.'

"He received his education at the National Military Academy, but his career at West Point can hardly be regarded as a brilliant success if we are to rate him according to prevailing standards. He had an unusually retentive memory. He tells us he 'rarely ever read over a lesson the second time during my entire cadetship.' He devoted more time to the books in the library than he did to those relating to his course of study. As a result, as he puts



SENATOR ATLEE POMERENE, JUDGE HUGH L. NICHOLS AND CONGRESSMAN  
CHARLES C. KEARNS.

(reader's right to left)

it, 'I never succeeded in getting squarely at either end of my class in any one study during the four years.'

"He thought of obtaining a permanent position as a college professor, but he tells us 'circumstances always did shape my course different from my plans.'

"He left the academy 'with a good average record as a student and a very high record as a man.' It was said of him, 'He betrayed no trust, falsified no word, violated no rights, manifested no tyranny, sought no personal aggrandizement, complained of no hardships, displayed no jealousy, oppressed no subordinate, and was ever known for his humanity, sagacity, courage, and honor.' High praise this for any man.

"His first military service was in the Mexican War. He was then a very young man. He occupied minor positions of responsibility. There is nothing extraordinary in his experience in Mexico, but a careful scrutiny of the history of the Mexican War shows that even in his minor position of lieutenant he always was ready to do and did do his duty.

"On one occasion his colonel called for volunteers to get word to General Twiggs, division commander, calling for ammunition and reinforcements. 'It is a dangerous job,' said Colonel Garland, 'and I do not like to order any man to do it. Who will volunteer?' 'I will,' said Quartermaster Grant promptly, 'I have got a horse.' 'You are just the man to do it,' said the colonel. 'Keep in the side streets and ride hard.' Needless to say, the message was delivered.

"While Grant was acting as quartermaster he was always at the front during the fighting. General Longstreet, who served with Grant in Mexico, said of him, 'You could not keep Grant out of battle.' Again he said, 'Grant was everywhere on the field. He was always cool, swift, and unhurried in battle. He was as unconcerned as if it were a hailstorm instead of a storm of bullets. I had occasion to observe his superb courage under fire—so remarkable was his bravery that mention was made of it in the official report, and I heard his colonel say, 'There goes a man of fire.'

"Shortly after the close of the Mexican War Grant was sent to the Pacific slope with his regiment. He was separated from family and friends. His record in the far West his most enthusiastic friends can hardly claim to have been creditable. On April 11, 1854, he resigned his position as captain in the United States Army, and apparently his military career had closed. He returned to the East.

"Later he located on a small farm which had been given to



him by his father-in-law. It was almost entirely, if not quite, virgin soil, covered by a virgin forest.

"To use a homely expression, Grant was all but down and out. Almost any other man would have become discouraged and quit. Not so Grant. His clearness of vision and his high resolve enabled him to see his duty to himself, his family, and his country. He cleared the forest. He built his log hut. He plowed and sowed and reaped. He cut firewood and hauled it to St. Louis. He did teaming for his neighbors. Nothing that he found to do was left undone. In this way for a time he maintained himself, his wife, and his growing family.

"Later he engaged in the real estate business in St. Louis. He was not fitted for this work. He was not successful in it, and he resigned his position.

"Still later, in April, 1860, he went to Galena, Illinois, entered his father's leather store, and joined his brothers as salesman.

"While in private life he was devotion itself to his wife and children. During all this period he was a great reader, a close student and observer of the passing events which were rapidly drawing the peoples of the North and South into the maelstrom of fratricidal war. He seemed to have a premonition that the fateful struggle was coming.

"Hard this life may have seemed to him and his family, as well as to those who knew him, but these experiences were not in vain. They were the crucible in which were melted, purified, and fused together the elements of his manhood. It made him master of himself, and having mastered himself he was fitted to become, and did become, the master and the leader of men. In no period of his life did he develop more than in the time between his resignation and the date when he tendered his services again to his country in the darkest hour of her history.

"On May 24, 1861, while at Galena, Grant wrote to the Adjutant General of the Army at Washington, tendering his services until the close of the war 'in such capacity as may be offered.' So little was thought of this man that his letter was not even acknowledged.

"With that clearness of vision which always characterized Grant, whether in peace or in war, whether in camp or battle, or at the council table, he foresaw the conflict coming. In his judgment it was to decide two questions:

First. Has a State the right to secede from the Union?

Second. Shall we tolerate slavery under the Stars and Stripes?

"Grant believed, as Webster believed, that the Union was 'one and inseparable.' Grant believed with the advancing progress

of civilization no human being ought to be held in bondage. In both these beliefs he was right—eternally right, and though we accord to those who held different beliefs, honesty of conviction, if these same questions were to be presented now to the people, North or South, for decision at the ballot box they would be decided overwhelmingly in the negative.

“Grant, in discussing the question of secession, says, in his *Memoirs*:

“‘Doubtless the founders of our Government, the majority of them at least, regarded the confederation of the Colonies as an experiment. Each colony considered itself a separate government; that the confederation was for mutual protection against a foreign foe and the prevention of strife and war among themselves. If there had been a desire on the part of any single State to withdraw from the compact at any time while the number of states was limited to the original 13 I do not suppose there would have been any to contest the right, no matter how much the determination might have been regretted. The problem changed on the ratification of the Constitution by all the Colonies; it changed still more when amendments were added; and if the right of any one State to withdraw continued to exist at all after the ratification of the Constitution, it certainly ceased on the formation of new States, at least so far as the new States themselves were concerned.’

“‘Secession, says Grant, ‘was illogical as well as impracticable. It was revolution.’ He believed that as man has the inherent right of self-defense, so has a government the right to protect itself against revolution.

“‘But it is purely academic to discuss such problems now. They were settled by the arbitrament of the sword, and out of the Civil War our Union of States was cemented together more closely than ever before.

“‘I have often indulged the thought that if the people of the South before the Civil War had known the people of the North as they know them now, and if the people of the North before the Civil War had known the people of the South as they know them now, there would have been no war. And of this, too, I am perfectly clear; if there had been more Grants in the North and more Lees in the South these questions would have been settled without the shedding of a single drop of blood.

“‘A few days after the firing upon Fort Sumter a meeting of the loyal citizens of Galena was held and Captain Grant was made chairman of the meeting. He did not devote his time to grandiloquent talk. He was even then the soldier, the commander. Calling the meeting to order, he said in substance:

“‘Fellow citizens, this meeting is called to organize a company of volunteers to serve the State of Illinois. \* \* \* Before calling upon you to become volunteers, I wish to state just what will be required of

you. First of all, unquestioning obedience to your superior officers. The Army is not a picnicking party, nor is it an excursion. You will have hard fare. You may be obliged to sleep on the ground after long marches in the rain and snow. Many of the orders of your superiors will seem to you unjust, and yet they must be borne. If an injustice is really done you, however, there are courts-martial where your wrongs can be investigated and offenders punished. If you put your name down here it should be in full understanding of what the act means. In conclusion, let me say that so far as I can I will aid the company, and I intend to re-enlist in the service myself.'

"This was the Grant whom the country later learned to know and love. His direct and straightforward statements as chairman of the Galena meeting were characteristic of his every thought and act during the entire period of the war.

"The enlisted soldiers offered to make Grant captain of the company. He refused, stating that he thought he could serve the state better at Springfield. He tendered his services to Gov. Richard Yates, but the governor could find nothing for him to do. After some days he determined to go home. Governor Yates, learning of his intention, asked him to remain overnight and call at his office in the morning. Grant was assigned to a desk in the adjutant general's department doing clerical work. Grant was hoping for a command. He returned to Galena almost in despair because he did not receive suitable recognition of his military experience.

"Mr. Houghton, the editor of a local paper, wrote concerning him:

"We are now in want of just such soldiers as he is, and we hope the Government will invite him to higher command. He is the very soul of honor, and no man breathes who has a more patriotic heart. We want among our young soldiers the influence of the rare leadership of men like Captain Grant.'

"Grant was a newcomer in Illinois. Public men did not know him. Other men unfitted by training or experience were given positions in the organization of the state troops, but there seemed to be no place for Grant, the West Point cadet.

"He went to Cincinnati and tendered his services to Gen. George B. McClellan, then in command of the military district. He met his old comrade, Carr B. White, in Georgetown, a member of the Ohio Legislature, and to him he related the circumstances and his ambition to serve in the Army. Mr. White replied that there ought to be a command for him, and said, 'I am going to Columbus and I will see what I can do.' In a few days he returned with a commission for Grant as colonel of the Twelfth Ohio, but meanwhile Governor Yates had wired him, asking him

to accept the command of the Seventh District Regiment. This position he accepted, and it gave him his opportunity.

"His regiment lacked in discipline and was said to be a 'little unruly.' When asked if he could manage them, his quiet reply was, 'I think I can.' When presented to his regiment by Colonel Goode, he said, after returning the salute of the adjutant: 'A soldier's first duty is to learn to obey his commander. I shall expect my orders to be obeyed as exactly and instantly as if we were on the field of battle.'

"A little later, while at St. Louis, Grant received a telegram from his friend, Washburne, advising him that the President had appointed him as brigadier general of volunteers.

"In the brief space of time allotted to me it is, of course, impossible to go into all the details of this wonderful commander's activities.

"Grant was the one man above every other commanding officer in the West who seemed to have the military genius to bring order out of chaos, to convert raw recruits into trained veterans, and to inspire them with the bravery of spirit and love of country which was necessary to suppress the rebellion and preserve the Union.

"Shortly after he had assumed command he found that the Confederates were marching onto the city of Paducah. On September 6, 1861, he issued this proclamation to its citizens:

"I have come among you, not as an enemy but as your friend and fellow citizen, not to injure or annoy you but to respect the rights and defend and enforce the rights of all loyal citizens. An enemy in rebellion against our common Government has taken possession of and planted its guns upon the soil of Kentucky and fired upon our flag. Hickman and Columbus are in his hands; he is moving upon our city. I am here to defend you against this enemy, and to assert and maintain the authority and sovereignty of your Government and mine. I have nothing to do with opinions. I deal only with armed rebellion and its aiders and abettors. You can pursue your usual vocations without fear or hindrance. The strong arm of the Government is here to protect its friends and to punish only its enemies. Whenever it is manifest that you are able to defend yourselves, to maintain the authority of your Government and protect the rights of all its loyal citizens, I shall withdraw the forces under my command from your city.'

"Lincoln, later seeing this address, said, 'The man who can write like that is fitted to command in the West.'

"He took Belmont. The Confederates held Columbus. In the midst of the fighting one of the Union officers shouted, 'My God, we are surrounded.' Grant replied, Grant-like, 'We cut our way in and we can cut our way out.'

"He moved with vigor and precision. On February 5 he ad-



vanced against Fort Henry. On the day following it fell, and he telegraphed Halleck, 'Fort Henry is ours,' and added, 'I shall take and destroy Fort Donelson on the 8th and return to Fort Henry.'

"Weather and other conditions, however, prevented his taking Fort Donelson as quickly as he thought, but he moved on to his objective with that persistence and determination which always carried him through every obstacle that came in his way. Generals Floyd, Pillow, and Buckner were in charge for the Confederates. Floyd and Pillow fled. General Buckner thought it useless to continue further fighting. He sent word to Grant, asking for terms of capitulation. Grant replied, 'No terms except immediate and unconditional surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works.'

"Victory was now in the air. The North began to find itself. They had a general who could fight and win. He was little known either to the people of the North or the East. The whole Nation began to inquire, 'Who is this man Grant, who fights battles and wins them?'

"After Shiloh great pressure was begun to have the President remove Grant from his command in the West. But Lincoln, after full investigation, replied, 'I can't spare Grant; he fights.'

"Shiloh was one of the most terrific battles in the West. An eminent writer, after reviewing this battle, says:

"The Battle of Shiloh showed Ulysses Grant to be a commander of a new type. His personal habits in conflict were now apparent to all his staff. He did not shout, vituperate, or rush aimlessly to and fro. He had no vindictiveness. While other officers in the heat of battle swore and uttered ferocious cries, Grant voiced all his commands in plain Anglo-Saxon speech, without oaths or abridgment. His anxiety and intensity of mental action never passed beyond his perfect control. He fought best and thought best when pushed hard.

"A man of singular gentleness, he had displayed the faculty which enables a man to consider soldiers en masse, to look over and beyond the destruction of human life in battle to the end for which the battle is fought. Unwilling to harm any living thing himself, he had the resolution to send columns of men into battle calmly and without hesitation. Without this constitution of mind no great commander can succeed.'

"Perhaps his next greatest achievement was the capture of Vicksburg. He laid siege to the city in the spring of 1863. It was a giant's task. The public began to lose faith in the hero of Donelson and Shiloh. Lincoln declared, 'Even Washburne has deserted Grant.' Charles A. Dana was sent to the front by the Secretary of War to report on the conditions of the Army. Later Gen. Lorenzo Thomas was sent with an order relieving Grant, if he should find it necessary. Commodore Porter told

General Thomas that 'if the news got out the boys would tar and feather him.' The order was never delivered. The siege continued. He assumed all responsibility. He knew if he failed his reputation would be lost; if he won, it would greatly cripple and discourage the South and correspondingly encourage the North. The siege and the fighting continued. At last, on July 3, a white flag appeared on the Confederate works. The commanding general asked for commissioners to arrange terms of surrender; and again Grant replied, 'I have no terms other than unconditional surrender.'

"After some little negotiation terms were concluded. They were so liberal that they were criticised in the North; but at 10 o'clock on July 4 the besieged 'marched out of their entrenchments. With sad faces the men of each regiment stacked their arms, threw down upon them knapsacks, belts, cartridges, and cap pouches, and then tenderly crowned the piles with their faded and riddled colors.'

"Thus ended the siege of Vicksburg.

"Then followed Chattanooga and Missionary Ridge. As Grant rode along the lines he was recognized by the soldiers, and they cried, 'Now we know we have a general.'

"The Assistant Secretary of War sent this message to Washington: 'Glory to God, the day is decisively ours. Our men are frantic with joy and enthusiasm, and received Grant as he rode along the lines after the victory with tumultuous shouts.'

"The next day was Thanksgiving Day and all over the Nation grateful millions of people blessed the name of Grant.

"These victories, like the finger of fate, pointed to Grant as the one man in America who ought to command the forces in the East against Lee.

"Washburne offered a bill reviving the grade of lieutenant general. In speaking of Grant he said:

" 'He has fought more battles and won more victories than any man living. He has captured more prisoners and taken more guns than any general of modern times.'

"The President signed the bill and nominated General Grant to be lieutenant general of the armies of the United States. This announcement was received with universal acclaim. The modest Grant on March 4, 1864, wrote to General Sherman, and spoke of the success which had met his efforts, and his place in the public confidence, but he did not take all the credit to himself. With his characteristic generosity of soul, he said:

" 'No one feels more than I how much of this success is due to the skill and energy and the harmonious putting forth of that energy and skill

of those whom it has been my good fortune to have occupying a subordinate position under me.

"There are many officers to whom these remarks are applicable to a greater or less degree, proportionate to their ability as soldiers; but what I want is to express my thanks to you and McPherson as the men to whom, above all others, I feel indebted for whatever I have had of success. \* \* \* I feel all the gratitude this letter can express, giving it the most flattering construction."

"To this letter General Sherman replied, in part:

"You do yourself injustice and us too much honor in assigning to us too large a share of the merits which have led to your high advancement. You are Washington's legitimate successor and occupy a place of almost dangerous elevation; but if you can continue, as heretofore, to be yourself, simple, honest, and unpretending, you will enjoy through life the respect and love of friends and the homage of millions of human beings that will award you a large share in securing them and their descendants a government of law and stability. \* \* \*

"I believe you are as brave, patriotic, and just as the great prototype Washington, as unselfish, kind-hearted, and honest as a man should be; but your chief characteristic is the simple faith in success you have always manifested, which I can liken to nothing else than the faith a Christian has in a Savior. This faith gave you victory at Shiloh and Vicksburg. Also, when you have completed your last preparations, you go into battle without hesitation, as at Chattanooga—no doubts, no reserves—and I tell you it was this that made us act with confidence."

"No one doubts the great and commanding genius and patriotism of General Sherman. His devotion to General Grant, his commanding officer, is almost unparalleled in the history of warfare.

"Sherman advised him not to stay in Washington. True, it was the Capital of the Nation, but it seemed to be full of intrigue and political connivance which since the outbreak of the war had had its effect upon every commanding general who preceded Grant and often jeopardized the movements of the troops in the field.

"After Grant had assumed control and had gone West to close up his work there and have a conference with General Sherman and other generals, he returned to the East, and pitched his tent in the fields with his armies. He was not given to ostentation and display. He went straight to his headquarters at Culpeper. He announced, 'There will be no grand review and no show business.'

"Grant had work to do. He was commander of all of the forces of the North. 'The far-flung' battle line of the northern forces was more than 1,000 miles in length. The Army was, to use Sherman's words, 'a unit now in action.' He kept his own counsel. The Army of the Potomac was moved with the same untiring vigor and energy, with the same clear intel-

ligence and precision with which he commanded the forces in the West and brought victory to our colors. He was pitted against the greatest military genius in the Southern Confederacy. Neither Grant nor Lee underestimated one another. Greek had met Greek. But Grant was fighting a winning cause—Lee a losing cause.

"The Army of the Potomac was well trained, but it had not been well led. Grant removed some officers. He placed others. Lincoln had implicit confidence in him. He did not interfere with Grant's action in the field.

"At this time a correspondent writes of him:

"Grant is not intoxicated with flattery. \* \* \* I never met with a man of so much simplicity, shyness, and decision. He has lost nothing of his freshness of mind. He avoids Washington and its corrupting allurements. He is essentially a soldier of the camp and field. All his predecessors were ruined by Washington influences. He has established his headquarters 10 miles nearer the enemy than Meade. His tents are almost among the soldiers. That is a western and not a Potomac Army custom. He travels with the simplicity of a second lieutenant, with a small trunk, which he often forgets and goes off without. If Grant fails, then a curse is on this Army. He is a soldier to the core, a genuine commoner, commander of a democratic army from a democratic people. \* \* \* From what I learn of him, he is no more afraid to take the responsibility of a million men than of a single company."

"Up until Grant became lieutenant general and took charge of the armies in the field our forces, whether east or west, seemed to act without system, without unity of purpose. The officers in the field were partly responsible for this condition. But the Congress and the War Department at Washington must bear their share of the responsibility. Grant demanded of President Lincoln the assurance that the War Department would cease to command in the field.

"On arriving in Washington he made up his mind to say to Lincoln: 'I will accept the command of the Armies of the United States, provided I can be free from the interference of the War Department; otherwise I shall be obliged to decline the honor.' But this was not necessary. Lincoln knew all too well the defects in his fighting machine.

"The President in presenting him with his commission as lieutenant general, said:

"The Nation's appreciation of what you have done and its reliance upon you for what remains to be done in the existing great struggle are now presented with this commission constituting you lieutenant general in the Army of the United States. With this high honor devolves upon you, also a corresponding responsibility. As the country herein trusts you, so, under God, it will sustain you. I scarcely need to add that with what I here speak goes my own hearty concurrence."



"General Grant replied :

"I accept the commission with gratitude for the high honor conferred. With the aid of the noble armies that have fought in so many fields for our common country, it will be my earnest endeavor not to disappoint your expectations. I feel the full weight of the responsibilities now devolving upon me, and I know that if they are met it will be due to those armies and, above all, to the favor of that Providence which leads both nations and men.'

"Other great generals had preceded him in commanding the Army of the Potomac. Many of them were men of great ability, brave in action, brilliant in achievement, but none of them had to their credit as many or as great victories as Grant had won in the West.

"Reserved of manner, plain of dress, and soft of speech, he was not at home in the social whirl of Washington. His place was in the camp or on the battle field. There he was master of men and of measures—quick to conceive and quick to act. Entire battlefields were spread before him like a panorama. He knew what to do and when to do it. To think was to execute. His great brain worked like a Corliss engine.

"After Grant's appointment as lieutenant general he returned to Nashville for a conference with Sherman, promising to return to Washington within nine days from the date of his leaving.

"Upon his return Lincoln said to him :

"I have never professed to be a military man, nor to know how campaigns should be conducted, and never wanted to interfere in them. But procrastination on the part of generals and the pressure of the people at the North, and of Congress, which is always with me, have forced me into issuing a series of military orders. I don't know but they were all wrong, and I'm pretty certain some of them were. All I want or ever wanted is some one to take the responsibility and act—and call on me for all assistance needed. I pledge myself to use all the power of government in rendering such assistance.'

"Grant replied :

"I will do the best I can, Mr. President, with the means at hand.'

"Later Lincoln said in reply to a question :

"I don't know General Grant's plans, and I don't want to know them. Thank God, I've got a general at last.'

"From the hour Grant assumed command of the Army of the Potomac a new spirit had been breathed into it. They knew they had a leader, and they knew that proper leadership was the one essential for complete victory.

"The South, too, began to realize that a new man was at the helm. A Southern editor gave this warning :

“Grant is a determined man, and has a tremendous force under his hand, and we may rest assured that when he is beaten it will be only when the last capacity for fight has been taken out of him and his army. Until this is done our generals, army, and government should brace every nerve, stretch every sinew, force nature, and yield nothing to fatigue.”

“The South began its preparations for the last and final struggle. All men between 17 and 50 were called. Grant, in referring to this call, said the South was ‘robbing the cradle and the grave.’

“Grant was confident of final victory, but he knew the bravery and the spirit of his foe, and he did not underestimate either. In the great Battle of the Wilderness the two armies met in deathlike struggle. It was a long, a bloody battle. No man who survived it on either side, whether officer or private, ever lost his admiration for the courage of his foe.

“Grant had supreme confidence in his men as well as his generals. To illustrate: During this terrific battle an excited orderly cried out, ‘They have broken through. Hancock has given way.’ Grant replied, ‘I do not believe it.’ He knew Hancock.

“For days the tide of battle ebbed and flowed. Lee had failed to break the line or check the advance. At one time he was told Grant was retreating. ‘You are mistaken,’ Lee replied. ‘quite mistaken. Grant is not a retreating man.’

“After three days of fighting, Grant wrote: ‘The results of the three days’ fighting are in our favor. I shall take no backward steps.’ And later he wrote to General Halleck, ‘I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer.’

“The spirit of the men was equaled only by that of the commanding general. A historian tells us that at a critical period in the battle a part of the Union forces began to feel that they were again whipped by Lee. They feared another retreat would be sounded. But the orders were given. The march was forward. The men broke out with this refrain:

“Ulysses leads the van!  
For we will dare  
To follow where  
Ulysses leads the van.”

“After Grant established his headquarters at Culpeper, Virginia became the great battlefield of the war. The struggle was gigantic. Not one, but many battles were fought. The slaughter was unparalleled in the history of our warfare. The world shuddered at the fratricidal contest. Union and the freedom of the race were in the balance. Grant knew that the cause must be won or lost in Virginia. Fair-minded men can not say whether

the soldiers of the North or of the South fought with the greater valor or under the more brilliant leadership. Determination to win characterized both armies. For a time only the god of battles knew where success would lie. But Lincoln and Grant, their generals and their soldiers, aye, the entire North kept up their courage and did not falter. The superior strength and resources of the North were destined to win.

"As I read the history of this struggle, no one battle decided the contest. It was a succession of battles, characterized by masterly generalship and a courageous soldiery. Who, whether he be of the North or of the South, does not recall with pride the heroism in the Wilderness, at Spottsylvania, at Cold Harbor, at Petersburg, at Appomattox, or in many another battle of perhaps less importance, but fought with the same spirit of heroism?

"Grant's genius for command seemed to grow as the occasion demanded. True, he did not escape criticism, aye, virulent abuse; but what great man who served his country ever has? The greater his victories and the more battles he won, the more shafts of slander were hurled at him. He must have been stung to the quick, for he was a very sensitive man. But criticism, cruel and unjust as it was, never swerved him from his path of duty. He saw beyond the smoke of battle the glory of the country reunited and human slavery forever wiped out.

"As this terrific contest progressed, the critics became more severe in denunciation. They called him 'butcher'; and it must be admitted that blood flowed freely on both sides of the battle line. But great battles were never won without bloodshed. Carping critics never fought a battle, much less won a war. Of course they do not shed blood, because they do not fight battles with the sword. They never assault the enemy. They fight their friends from behind, and they fight them from afar off. Their swords are their pens and their tongues. Occasionally some of them are wounded, but they are not wounded in the front while facing and advancing upon the enemy. Their wounds are in their backs while running from danger.

"During the fighting in Virginia he said in reply to his critics:

"I am commanding an army. The business of an army is to fight. This is war. I am determined to whip out the rebellion. There is no other way. I am pursuing the same policy which I began at Belmont. It is my intention to fight."

"Again, after he had been twice unanimously nominated for the Presidency by his party, and after he had been twice elected by overwhelming majorities, during his second inaugural address

he referred with dignity to the abuse which had been heaped upon him in these words:

"I did not ask for place or position, and was entirely without influence or the acquaintance of persons of influence. But I was resolved to perform my part in a struggle threatening the very existence of the Union. I performed a conscientious duty without asking promotion or command. Notwithstanding this, throughout the war and from my candidacy for my present position in 1868, I have been the subject of abuse and slander scarcely ever equaled in political history, which yet today I feel I can afford to disregard in view of your verdict, which I gratefully accept as my vindication."

"No man among our dead, save Washington and Lincoln, has been more greatly vilified than Grant, but like Washington and Lincoln, Grant will live long after his traducers shall have faded from the memory of man.

"Grant, like many people of the North, did not believe the war would last long. Neither did the people of the South. Before the actual fighting began Grant thought with Seward the rebellion would be suppressed in 90 days. This must have been the thought of Lincoln himself, because his first call for troops was for 90 days.

"The people in the North did not think the South would fight.

"The people of the South were certain the North would not fight. Orators in the South spoke of the northerners as cowards—claimed that one southern man was equal to five northern men in battle, and if the South would stand up for its rights the North would back down.

"Jefferson Davis said in a speech, 'He would agree to drink all of the blood spilled south of the Mason and Dixon line if there should be a war.' Too bad they did not know one another better. Neither side appreciated the valor, the spirit, the worth of the other.

"What a tribute the history of the Civil War is to the fine courage of the people of both North and South! The people of both sections were sprung from the same loins. They were all all-American.

"Many who knew Grant in his youth and early manhood before and even during the Civil War had little confidence in his ability or fitness for high command. Some who knew him intimately referred to him as a mere 'accident.' Such criticisms hurt, but they did not unmake the man.

"The God of battles does not choose great commanders of great armies by accident. Accidents are not placed in the niches of the temple of fame. Maybe that occasionally, by some fortui-



tous combination of circumstances, an inferior man may win where a superior man may lose. Accident may win a battle. It never won a magnificent series of battles. It never won a war. Ulysses Simpson Grant did both.

"Accident did not win commendation from his superior officers for bravery on the battlefields of Mexico or for ability as quartermaster.

"Accident was not in the saddle at Belmont, or Fort Thomas, or Fort Donelson, or Shiloh, or Vicksburg, or Chattanooga in the West.

"Accident did not make Grant commander-in-chief of the armies of the field. It did not win in the Wilderness or at Spottsylvania or at Petersburg or at Appomattox.

"Had he been an accident he could not have had the sustained confidence and the continued loyal devotion of the Shermans, the Sheridans, the McPhersons, and the Meades. Accident did not tie his faithful soldiery to him by hooks of steel.

"Accident did not win for him two nominations and two elections to the Presidency of the Republic.

"No; Grant was not an accident. He was the one man born from the womb of time to lead our armies to victory and to restore the Union, never again to be dissolved. Like Minerva, he sprung full fledged from the head of Jove. He was born to command. Lincoln discovered him. He won where others failed.

"Great as Grant was on the battle field, he was greater at the peace table. Determined and tenacious in conflict, he was magnanimous in victory. Nothing finer appears in all history that his treatment of Lee and his armies at Appomattox. He required all arms, artillery, and public property to be parked and stacked and turned over to the officer appointed by him to receive them. This did not embrace either the side arms of the officers or their private horses or baggage. This done, each officer and man was allowed to return to his home, 'not to be disturbed by the United States authorities so long as they observe their parole and the laws in force where they reside.'

"Lee was surprised at the generosity of Grant's proposal, and added, 'this will have a most happy effect upon my army.'

"What a temptation it would have been to many a general to have demanded terms both exacting and humiliating! Not so with Grant. Now that the war had been won, his one thought was to win the peace.

"Later on came Lincoln's assassination and Andrew Johnson's succession to the Presidency. He proposed 'to make treason odious.' He thought to have Lee and other leading southerners indicted for treason. General Lee appealed to Grant, saying he

had learned that he was to be indicted for treason by the grand jury at Norfolk. He adds:

"I had supposed that the officers and men of the Army of Northern Virginia were by the terms of the surrender protected by the United States Government from molestation so long as they conformed to its conditions. \* \* \*

"Grant wrote to the Secretary of War with firmness and magnanimity:

"In my opinion the officers and men paroled at Appomattox Court-house, and since upon the same terms given to Lee, can not be tried for treason so long as they observe the terms of their parole. This is my understanding. Good faith as well as true policy dictates that we should observe the conditions of that convention. Bad faith on the part of the Government or a construction of that convention subjecting the officers to trial for treason would produce a feeling of insecurity in the minds of all paroled officers and men. \* \* \*

"He wrote to Lee:

"I have forwarded your application for amnesty and pardon to the President with the following indorsement: "Respectfully forwarded, through the Secretary of War, to the President, with the earnest recommendation that this application of Gen. R. E. Lee for amnesty and pardon be granted him."

"General Grant was not content with a mere protest. He said to the President, 'The people of the North do not wish to inflict torture upon the people of the South.'

"President Johnson answered, 'I will make treason odious. When can these men be tried?'

"Grant replied, 'Never, never; unless they violate their parole.'

"Grant was determined that the Government should keep the faith, and he finally won. From this time on his every thought and every act looked to the healing of the wounds of war. He wanted the sections reunited in fact and in spirit as well as in name.

"When, after his first nomination as a candidate for the Presidency he wrote his letter of acceptance, this same thought was uppermost in his mind, and after his letter had been completed he added these four words:

"Let us have peace.'

"It was not in his heart after victory to trample the people of the South under the iron heel of war. Rather he looked upon them as wayward brothers, whom he wanted to bring back to the protecting folds of our glorious flag.

"How well he succeeded the reestablished Union proclaims to the world for all time. Peace to the ashes of Ohio's greatest

son. May we honor ourselves by writing his name large upon the tablets of our memories.

Vice-President Coolidge in a recent address at Columbus, Ohio, complimented the state on having as its representatives in the United States Senate two able and patriotic senators. This seemed to please the audience who heard the Vice-President and a similar sentiment seemed to prevail, regardless of party, among the thousands who heard Senators Willis and Pomerene at Bethel and Georgetown. Senator Pomerene was heard with the closest attention and heartily applauded.

General Grant in his *Memoirs* comments rather freely on the southern sentiment prevailing in Brown County at the opening of the Civil War. "There was probably," he writes, "no time during the Rebellion when, if the opportunity could have been afforded, it (Georgetown) would not have voted for Jefferson Davis for President of the United States, over Mr. Lincoln, or any other representative of his party. \* \* \*

The line between the rebel and union element in Georgetown was so marked that it led to divisions even in the churches. There were churches in that part of Ohio where treason was preached regularly, and where, to secure membership, hostility to the government, to the war and to the liberation of the slaves, was far more essential than a belief in the authenticity and credibility of the Bible."

The southern counties of Ohio bordering on the river were settled largely from the South and sympathy with that section in the sixties was natural. It must be remembered, however, that among these settlers from Kentucky, Virginia and other southern states

were many eminent opponents of slavery. Conspicuous among these were Alexander Campbell, state legislator and United States Senator, and John Rankin, of Ripley, Brown County, whose name ranks with those of Garrison, Lundy and Birney. With them were numerous other anti-slavery advocates in Clermont and Brown Counties. The conspicuous service of Thomas Morris in the cause has already been told.

Whatever may have been the attitude of the citizens of Georgetown in Civil War times, there was evidence on every hand throughout the Centenary celebration of patriotic pride in the life and services of the great general who spent the formative period of his early life in the village. In the Civil War and all subsequent wars Brown County has given to the Republic a number of brilliant military leaders, out of proportion to her population, of whom any county in the state might well be proud.

The exercises at Georgetown closed the series of celebrations in honor of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of General Ulysses S. Grant. These celebrations had been carefully planned and the program was most successfully carried out in every detail. Much praise is due all the members of the Centenary committee but everyone will accord first honor for these inspiring educational and patriotic celebrations to the chairman of the committee, Judge Hugh L. Nichols, who for the past year has devoted practically all of his time to afford the opportunity for this series of events which gratified the thousands in attendance.



## HOME LIFE OF GENERAL GRANT

General Grant figured so conspicuously in his public career that not much has been written of his home life. That his youth in spite of the arduous physical labor that was expected of boys in pioneer days was spent in the midst of home influences in many respects ideal is attested by the General himself who wrote in his *Memoirs*:

"There was never any scolding or punishing by my parents. No objection to rational enjoyments, such as fishing, going to the creek a mile away to swim in summer, taking a horse and visiting my grandparents in the adjoining county, fifteen miles off, skating on the ice in winter, or taking a horse and sleigh when there was snow on the ground."

The recollection of the attitude of his parents toward him doubtless had great influence with him as husband and father. His son, Ulysses S. Grant, Jr., who was born in Bethel, Ohio, and now lives in San Diego, California, and owns a large hotel which he has named in honor of his father, gives an interesting account of life in the home of the General, which is here quoted in part from the *Columbus Citizen* of April 27, 1922:

"His unfailing calmness, his ability to think out every act before making it, and his remarkable memory, are the traits which stand out most clearly in my memory as I look back on the life of my father.

"He was a splendid family man. We all loved him, but with that affection was a respect, almost an awe, that nobody else has ever commanded from me.

"Although we were reared in the days of 'spare the rod and spoil the child,' he never laid the weight of his hand on one of us. He didn't need to. His slightest rebuke held a greater sting than the whip.

"I remember one day when we were living in Washington. We were preparing to go for a drive. The carriage was crowded and I was sitting on the box with the coachman. Without think-

ing of the consequences, I cracked the whip and only the good horsemanship of the coachman saved us from a runaway.

"That was thoughtless," was all my father said to me, and yet the rebuke has burned in my memory ever since.

"I like to recall the love and loyalty between my father and my mother. Mother loved to tell us of father during the days of his courting, when he was a second lieutenant fresh from West Point, and she was the daughter of a southern planter. 'A beautiful young man,' she called him.

"She always said Grandmother Dent predicted, even in the days of his young lieutenancy, that he would be president of the United States.

"Julia," mother said grandmother told her, 'that young man can explain politics so clearly I can understand the situation perfectly. I know he will be president of the United States.'

"Like all the Grants, father cared very little for music. He used to say all music was divided to him into two selections, 'Hail! the Conquering Hero Comes,' which he had heard so often he couldn't forget it, and the 'other piece.'

"He was fond of reading and could consume an inordinate amount of reading matter. Throughout all his life he retained his intense love for horses, which is the outstanding trait of his boyhood. He was always a little disappointed that his three sons didn't share his enthusiasm for good horseflesh.

"Fred," he would say, 'knows very little about horses; Buck (which was my nickname) knows nothing, and Jesse less than that.'

\* \* \* \* \*

"Father had a remarkable memory for names and dates.

"My brother Fred and I usually read him the proof sheets of his *Memoirs* as they came from the printers. He often would stop us while he gave a word or a statement the most thorough study. He disliked a misstatement and always lost confidence in the person who made one.

"During that last sad year of his life as he held death at bay while he struggled under almost insurmountable difficulties to finish his book, he showed the same courage, the same patience and consideration for others that was always a part of him.

"Son," he would say to me, 'no Grant is afraid to die.'

"He never let mother know that he knew he was afflicted with cancer and death was inevitable. Before her he was always cheerful, concealing his pain."

The General's concern for the welfare of his children is shown in his last request to his wife which was

published in the character sketch by Judge Hugh L. Nichols in the April *QUARTERLY*.

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## POETIC TRIBUTES

ON THE OCCASION OF THE GRANT CENTENARY

Though General Grant, as his son has stated, cared little for music and, as other writers have told us, was not fond of poetry, the centennial celebration of his birth called forth poetic tributes. The following appeared in the papers of Georgetown, the first two on April 28 and the last on May 11:

### U. S. GRANT

BY BERTYE Y. WILLIAMS

On the banks of the Ohio,  
In a humble little cot,  
He was born—our nation's hero;  
But the busy world recked not.  
None came by to do him honor,  
Only April breezes sweet  
From the peach and apple orchards  
Scattered petals at his feet.

There the little new-born baby  
Grew and stretched each sturdy limb;  
And the beautiful Ohio  
Sang a cradle-song for him.

On the fair banks of the Hudson,  
In a tomb of stately grace,  
They have laid our nation's hero.  
They have given him a place  
Where the world goes by in pageant,  
Where the city's full tide swells;  
And the great of earth, in passing,  
Place their wreathes of immortelles.

There the weary warrior resteth  
From the stress of conflicts grim;  
And the blue and shining Hudson  
Sings a requiem for him.

—From the *Georgetown News Democrat*.

## U. S. GRANT

## ONE OF OUR BOYS

BY BERTYE Y. WILLIAMS

One of our boys! In the long ago  
 He trudged along through the winters' snow  
 To the old school-house that you see there still.  
 Oft' he went with grist to the White Oak mill  
 When the days of summer were long and fair,  
 Met the other boys, and went swimming there.  
 O, he knew these woods and hills and streams,  
 And 'twas here he dreamed his boyhood dreams,  
 One of our boys,  
 Just one of our boys!

One of our boys! When the crisis came,  
 And our land was scorched by the battle's flame,  
 When the small faith died, and the weak heart quailed,  
 And the cause of the Union almost failed,  
 There was one whose hand held the foe at bay;  
 One whose courage grim saved the losing day;  
 One who, loving peace, faltered not in war  
 Till our flag was saved with its every star.  
 One of our boys,  
 Just one of our boys!

— From the *Georgetown Gazette*.

## AT GRANT'S TOMB AFTER THE CENTENARY

BY ADDA HIGGINS TATMAN

The pomp and pageantry are o'er,  
 The music and the shouting stilled;  
 The voice of orator no more  
 With eulogy and praise is filled.  
 No longer wave the stripes and stars,  
 The flowers, wreaths and bunting gay  
 From arches, masts and steamboat spars  
 Along the great triumphal way.

So quiet now each little town,  
 Each little corner of the earth  
 That claims a share in your renown,  
 Your homes, and humble place of birth.  
 Back to its desk, its plough, its mill  
 Has turned a busy world again;  
 But your brave spirit moves us still,  
 O rarest, truest, best of men.

Not all the praise, the blame, the power,  
 That came to you in your sad day,  
 Could swerve you even for an hour  
 From the firm purpose of your way.  
 O hero! though no lesson new  
 Is blazoned in your modest story  
 To conscience and to country true,  
 You found the way to fame and glory.

— From the *Georgetown News Democrat*.



## DEDICATION OF MEMORIAL BUILDING

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OVER THE GRANT COTTAGE AT STATE FAIR GROUNDS

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The Grant Memorial Building enclosing the Grant cottage at the State Fair Grounds was dedicated September 3, 1896.\* This ceremony had been planned for the forenoon of that day, but a heavy rain made it necessary to postpone the program until the afternoon when fair weather greeted the large crowd assembled, estimated at over four thousand people.

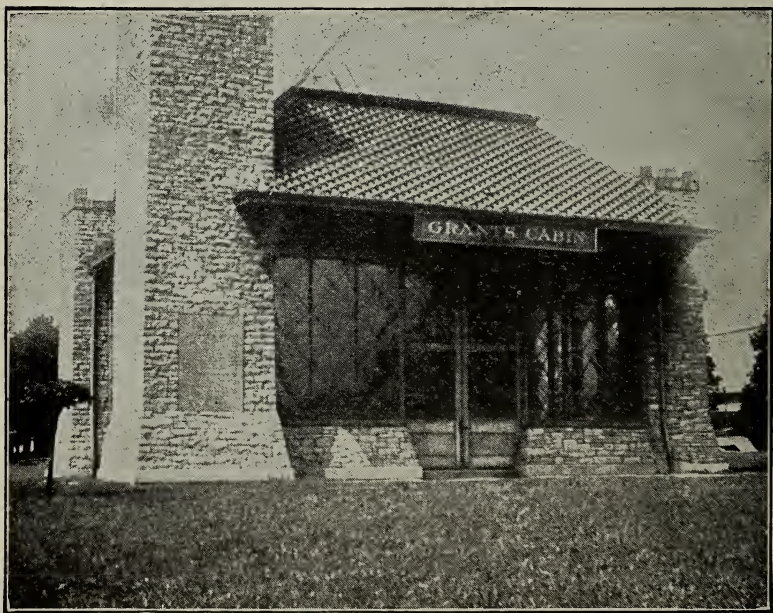
The program included addresses by Governor Bushnell and Henry T. Chittenden, through whose liberality the Grant cottage was placed on the State Fair Grounds. There were national airs by the Fourteenth Regiment Band and military salutes by the regiment and a detachment of Battery H of the Ohio Light Artillery. Four companies of the regiment, Battery H and the Boys' Brigade, at the entrance of the grounds met Governor Bushnell, who was accompanied by Mrs. Bushnell, Private Secretary Rodgers, Henry T. Chittenden, Secretary Miller of the State Board of Agriculture, and members of the Governor's staff. They were escorted to the scene of the afternoon exercises.

Secretary Miller presided at the meeting. Reverend W. R. Parsons invoked divine blessing, the band played "America." Henry T. Chittenden was then presented and spoke in part as follows:

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\*The account of the dedication and the address of Mr. Chittenden are based on reports in the *Columbus Evening Dispatch* of September 3, 1896, and the *Ohio State Journal* of the morning following.

"We have gathered about this now consecrated spot to complete an affair that had its beginning some eight or, perhaps better, eighty years ago when this little cottage which we see here was reared upon the banks of the Ohio River to be the home of a simple pioneer of our great state. The son of that pioneer was the great soldier whose memory brings us here today. In entering upon this matter I shall lay aside all considerations of false modesty and speak of that which I know without regard to accusa-



GRANT MEMORIAL BUILDING,

Enclosing the Grant Cabin, State Fair Grounds, Columbus, Ohio.

tions of egotism or bad taste. The splendor of his renown whom in this day we recall makes unimportant any allusion to myself, and the matter of having a record for the satisfaction of those who look through this well-nigh imperishable glass in future years, calls upon me for a statement from me which might otherwise be inappropriate.

"As to the history of this cottage, within whose second and last room, about seven by twelve feet in size, General Grant was indisputably born, it is that it was built by his father, Jesse Root

Grant, upon the banks of the Ohio, in Clermont County, in the year 1820, preparatory to his marriage. From this point it was transferred to Cincinnati by boat in the year 1888; from that point to these grounds on the southeastern part of which it was set up in the same year, and from this last point, under the recommendation of our distinguished governors, it has been transferred by the patriotic State Board of Agriculture to this, its final resting place, and covered with an enduring tasteful dome of glass and steel as you now see it.

"Upon each removal extreme care, involving in every case an expenditure of money far beyond the first cost of the building, has been exercised to transfer and replace every particle of the building as it was found to be after Grant's glorious achievements had thrown a luster and sacredness about his every belonging and made this humble house sacred to the American people. Nothing was added and nothing taken away and it stands today as it stood for more than half a century looking out upon the glancing waters of the beautiful river.

"As to its authenticity and persistency of condition there is no particle of doubt. When I visited it for the first time in company with Mr. William F. Burdell, of Columbus, Ohio, in the interests of the board of directors of the Centennial of Ohio in 1888, the price demanded for it, \$3,000, made it important that we should be assured that it was in all respects what it purported to be; and testimony was taken and affidavits were made which left no doubt in our minds upon that point. Sketches were taken of its actual condition, and that condition was accurately reproduced before payment was made for its removal to these grounds. It is interesting, it seems to me, to state that the picture in General Grant's Autobiography shows a front just such as this; that the physician, who was then the family doctor, has visited the house since it stood in this enclosure and recognized its familiar features; and that Mrs. Ulysses S. Grant wrote to me a letter during the Centennial of 1888, which will be deposited with the State Board of Agriculture, and which fully recognizes all that we claim for the humble reminder of his birth, which I here deliver once more to the care of the people of his native state, to shine like a gem on her fair bosom, to endure while liberty and union last, to be the mecca of millions of grateful, pious pilgrims and to present to unborn generations the most impressive and instructive of lessons for the conduct of life, especially when all its completed and accentuated by the erection of his statue as he appeared on horseback in captaincy of a million of unapproachable soldiery—a work of art whose erection



is practically assured, as I am given to understand, by the liberality of one of Ohio's most distinguished and honored citizens.

"You, whose most exalted and profitable business it is to study and determine the effect of proper intermingling of blood and characteristics, may well take time to consider in passing of how great importance is the great diversity of nationalities which has gone to the make-up of the population of nearly five million which now enjoys the unsurpassed opportunities for being, for development and for enjoyment presented by this first state in the Union; and so considering you will soon come to the conclusion, I think, that although contrasted with the shrewdness and self-denial of the New Englander, the industry and persistency of the German, the gallantry and politeness of the southerner, and the vivacity and humor of the Irishman, yet the caution, the insight and the thrift of the Scotchman qualifies him for an equal hope in the contest for good things and renders probable a more than ordinary success in the race which our admirable institutions throw open and make attractive to all men.

"Of such stock was the baby who first complained of mortal human ills in this little room on the 27th day of April, 1822. His father's father had come to this country from Scotland in the early part of the eighteenth century; had settled in Connecticut; had served his country in the various wars, including that for independence, and had sent forth his son, Jesse Root Grant, to make to blossom as the rose a little part of that rich wilderness which was then more remote from his New England home than is now any part of the globe from this smiling scene.

"Mrs. Grant, who was also of Scotch origin, was known to her neighbors as a woman of unusual firmness and strength of character, as a consistent and exemplary member of the Methodist Church from her youth, a constant and devoted wife, a careful, loving, watchful mother, the solace and support of her husband, the adviser and guide of her children. 'It is not strange,' says the biographer, 'that the offspring of such parentage should be virtuous, honest and truthful. But if there is anything good in blood or race, aided by judicious training and honorable example, such a family should contain within itself a model of all that is excellent in woman or admirable in man.'

"I shall not abuse your patience by recounting the life or eminent services of General Grant. His record is a possession forever to the American people, familiar in their mouths as household words. Suffice it to say that he was born in yonder cottage; that he grew to manhood and almost to middle age in the discharge of ordinary duties of life; that then as Washington and his compeers watched over and made possible the birth of the



Nation, as Jefferson and his associates at the end of the first generation notified France and England and all the world that our country had come of age and proposed to take care of itself; as at the end of the second generation Jackson choked the serpent of treason and sent it back to its lair, scotched but not killed, so Grant and his followers at the end of the third generation saved the Nation's life and sent her forward on a bounding career of usefulness and glory. Would to God, fellow citizens, that he were with us now to guide and assist us in saving the two better parts of those inestimable treasures which the fathers pledged to the sustaining of their proclamation of independence. He saved our life, and would to God, I say, that at the beginning of our fourth generation he were here to tell us how to save our fortunes and our sacred honor. For it is curious to observe how imperative is perpetual vigilance to the preservation of liberty, and how necessary it has been thirty years after the Civil War to recur to the principles and rules which the wise men of '76 laid down for our protection from the dangers which they saw to be inherent in the matter of self-government."

Music by the band followed the address. Governor Bushnell was introduced and spoke briefly of the appropriateness of the movement on the part of the citizens to establish a monument to the memory of one of the most honored sons of Ohio. The Governor commended Mr. Chittenden for his patriotic generosity in placing the cottage on the grounds and the State Board of Agriculture in later providing a shelter for it in order that it might not be removed by the inclemency of the weather. He complimented the National Guard for the part taken by them in the exercises and declared the military career of General Grant the most glorious in the history of the Nation.

The exercises concluded with the "Star Spangled Banner" by the band and a national salute by the battery as the Stars and Stripes were raised above the building.

William F. Burdell, who negotiated the purchase of

the Grant cottage in 1888 and is familiar with the subsequent history of this historic building, recalls distinctly Mr. Chittenden's interest in its preservation. He says that Henry T. Chittenden was generally known as a business man and regarded as without much sentiment, poetic, patriotic or otherwise. "This," says Mr. Burdell, "was a mistake. His was a character abounding in appreciation of the refinements of art and literature and life. This did not appear to those who knew him casually and only in a business way." His presentation of the Grant cottage to the State of Ohio and his address at the dedication of the Memorial building on the State Fair Grounds are assuredly confirmations of Mr. Burdell's tribute.



## CATHERINE GOUGAR

Probably the Earliest Pioneer Resident of Ohio Who Has Descendants Living Upon the Original Place of Settlement

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BY FRANK WARNER, M. D., D. SC., COLUMBUS, OHIO.

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On the farm of Alfred Immell, situated on the pike from Columbus to Chillicothe, some ten miles north of the latter city, lies buried Catherine Gougar. Her remains have lain here since 1801, when she died at the age of sixty-nine years. She died within two years of the establishment of Ohio as a State and within view of its first capital, Chillicothe; having lived under the shadow of Mount Logan from which Ohio has taken its great seal.

Mrs. Alfred Immell is a direct descendant of Catherine Gougar and lives upon the same farm where her great-great-grandmother lived when she was brought a captive here by the Indians in 1744.

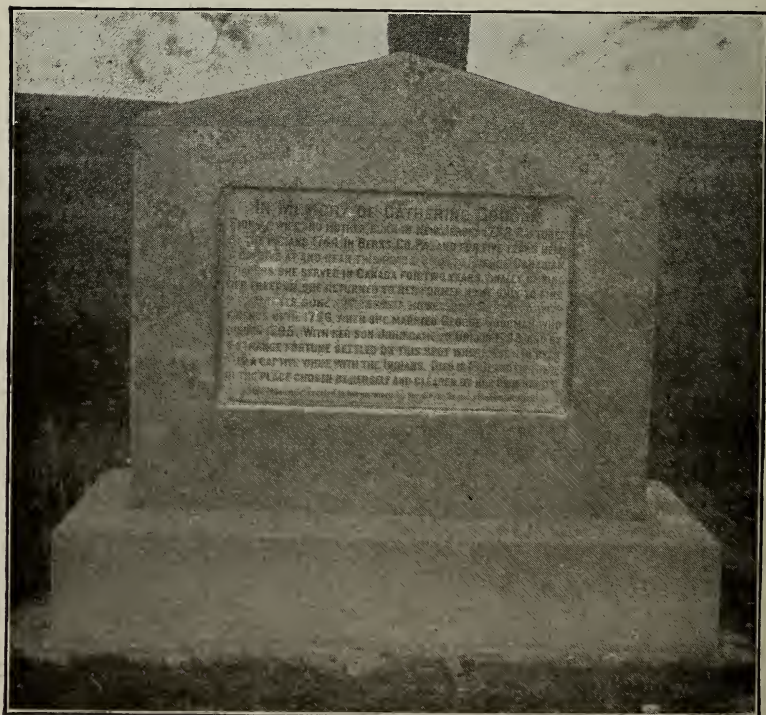
As related in the inscription on the monument, after having returned to her old home in Pennsylvania, she married George Goodman; bore a son, John, and came back to Ohio in 1798; settling upon the same spot where she had been brought captive. Mrs. Immell was a Goodman before her marriage and is a direct descendant of the little girl, Catherine Gougar, who was but twelve years of age when she was brought here 178 years ago.

The following is the inscription on the monument:

IN MEMORY OF CATHERINE GOUGAR

Pioneer wife and mother, born in New Jersey in 1732. Captured by the Indians in 1744, in Berks County, Pa., and for five years held a captive at and near this place. Sold to French-Canadian Traders, she served in Canada for two years, finally gaining her freedom, she returned to her former home only to find her parents gone and herself homeless. She lived with friends until 1756, when she married George Goodman who died in 1795. With her son John, came to Ohio in 1798 and, by a strange fortune, settled on this spot where she had been held a captive while with the Indians. Died in 1801, and lies here in the place chosen by herself and cleared by her own hands.

This monument is erected to her memory by her great grandchildren in 1915.



MONUMENT TO CATHERINE GOUGAR.



Hildreth, in *Memoirs of the Early Pioneer Settlers of Ohio*, observes that the settlement of Ohio first commenced on the 7th of April, 1788, at the confluence of the Ohio and Muskingum Rivers; that the settlement was called Marietta in honor of the friend of their country, the Queen of France. He further observes in reference to the settlement: "This was directly athwart the Indian war path; for it was down the Muskingum and its tributary branches that the Wyandotts, the Shawnees, the Ottawas, and all the Indians of the North and Northwest, were accustomed to march, when from time to time, for almost half a century before, they made those dreadful incursions into western Virginia and western Pennsylvania, which spread desolation, and ruin, and despair, through all these regions."

It was on one of these incursions of the Indians, forty-four years before the earliest settlement of Ohio, 1788, that Catherine Gougar was captured, in 1744, and brought to the Ohio country. She was then only twelve years old and remained here captive five years, living with Indians near Chillicothe. What a wonderfully strange circumstance that she should have returned here later, in 1798, to make her home with her son as her escort and protector. Almost as interesting is the fact that the descendants of Catherine Gougar, who first came to Ohio thirty-two years before the signing of the Declaration of Independence and the war of the American Revolution, should be living and owning the land upon which this early pioneer first located, though captive, in the very dim light of the early morning of Ohio history. How her life was mingled with tragedy and romance!

An Ordinance for the government of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio River was passed by Congress July 13, 1787. Forty-three years before this, the subject of our sketch had lived here; and she returned eleven years after that. She lived under this territorial government for three years before her death which occurred in 1801, or one year before the adoption of the constitution of the State of Ohio. What wonderful civic history was in the making in Ohio during the closing years of her eventful life!

Catherine Gougar, after a residence of five years on the banks of the Scioto, near Chillicothe, was just leaving here with her new owners, the French Canadian Traders who had purchased her, and was on her road to Canada, where she was to make another enforced residence of two years, when Louis the Fifteenth of France was taking formal possession of a vast territory of which Ohio was a part, though a small part. This was in 1749. This formality consisted, says Hildreth, in his *Pioneer History*, published in 1849, of — "Erecting a wooden cross, near the mouth of a stream and burying a leaden plate at its foot on which was engraved a legend, setting forth the claim of Louis the Fifteenth to the country by the right of prior discovery, and by formal treaties with the European powers."

In 1763, fourteen years after Catherine, the girl now seventeen years of age, was taken from Ohio to Canada, the lands along the Ohio river as well as Canada, were surrendered to England after the terrible struggle of the French-Indian War which had begun in 1755.

When she again returned to Ohio, in 1798, she came to a land no longer owned by the French, as she had left it, nor to the English, who had possessed it for a

number of years during her absence; a new nation had been born; the United States was now the owner of this territory which was soon to become a state — the great state of Ohio, the soil of which her feet had trod so many, many years before. As Atwater observes, in *A History of the State of Ohio*, (1838, p. 110), "It was indeed a long and bloody war, in which Louis XIV, XV, lost Canada, and all the country watered by the Ohio river." It was fortunate for our heroine that she was neither in Ohio nor Canada during this bloody conflict which cost so many lives; the lives of Logan's family were lost at this time, and such a bloody conflict might well included our captive heroine when this story of her could not have been related.

The first substantial effort at the settlement of the Ohio river country was not made until 1748, four years after our captive child had been residing in Ohio. This was through the formation of the Ohio Land Company under the leadership of Thomas Lee, of Virginia, which had been granted a half million acres of land located principally on the south shore of the Ohio river between the Monongahela and Kanawha rivers. The fruition of the settlement of Ohio under the stimulus of this company was not until the expedition which started for the Muskingum outlet to form the town of Marietta under the leadership of Rufus Putnam, in 1788. Just forty-four years before the first settlement of Ohio was formed, Catherine Gougar was a resident here.

Of these early captive settlers, history tells of two of great interest, Mary Harris and Mary Ingles. "Mary Ingles is often claimed," says Randall, in Randall and Ryan's *History of Ohio*, "as the first white woman in Ohio, but this is clearly erroneous." She was cap-

tured in 1755 at the outbreak of the French and Indian War, on the day previous to Braddock's defeat on the Monongahela. Just eleven years before Mary Ingles was led captive to our Ohio soil, Catherine Gougar was living upon the fertile banks of the Scioto. It is true, the romantic incidents, with such terribly stirring features, especially occurring during Mrs. Rankin's escape and return to Virginia, gives her residence here wonderful interest. But she was not the first white woman living upon our Ohio soil. Catherine Gougar had preceded her by eleven years as a resident of Ohio. Mary Harris, who preceded Catherine Gougar in Ohio by at least four years or more, is reputed generally to have been the first white inhabitant of Ohio, having lived as the wife of Eagle Feather, after she had been brought here as a captive, upon the banks of the Muskingum about 1730 or 1740. But, as Mr. Randall observes, "It is more than likely that many white women preceded her to Ohio, either as captives or voluntary migrants."

While Catherine Gougar was not the first white woman to have lived upon Ohio soil, she was one of the very earliest inhabitants. Her early presence in Ohio gives rise to history of the most captivating interest.

What induced her to return to Ohio after she had gained her freedom and regained her former home in Pennsylvania? She was now sixty-six years of age when she made her second appearance near Chillicothe. Was it the strong love of home which had been developed in her young impressionable mind? Or, was it the conquering passion that seized her to do something for her son by bringing him out to what she had seen was a land of great fertility — the fertile meadows of the rich soil of the beautiful Scioto valley? At her



time of life it was hardly likely that she would have undergone voluntarily the new hardships of a severe pioneer life for any personal advantage to have been gained.

Today one of her descendants, Mr. Alfred Immell, Jr., is sheriff of Ross County, where she first located in 1744, prisoner as she was of the Indians. His parents still live in the old homestead located on the soil where Catherine Gougar lived and near where sleeps the one whose memory these descendants love so well.

There are a number of descendants of her living in the county and surrounding country as well as in other states. These are people of sterling worth and possess high ideals of the best citizenship. They not only possess these high ideals of citizenship, but they live lives worthy of that type of people.

It would seem she is the first white woman to set foot upon Ohio soil who has left descendants, sterling and worthy ones, that occupy the same home land that she originally occupied in her life and that now enfolds her sacred dust — the dust of a once noble woman who sacrificed the leisure she had earned for her old days to make a new home, a better and more prosperous one, for her son and his descendants.

It would seem impossible to offer a parallel history in all Ohio that can approach this wonderfully interesting one of Catherine Gougar. Her voluntary return to the land she first occupied as an Indian captive, the continued possession of this same land by her lineal descendants and the faithfulness of her relatives in revering her memory are certainly remarkable facts connected with the early pioneer history of Ohio.

## SUPPLEMENTAL SKETCH

A short time after the foregoing contribution was received, a brief sketch was sent to the editor by a descendant of Catherine Gougar. Omitting the inscription on the monument which has already been given, this sketch is substantially as follows.—ED.

West of the Chillicothe-Columbus Pike a short distance south of the Alfred Immell home, there was erected in 1915 a fine monument to mark the last resting place of Catherine Gougar Goodman, the first white woman in Ross County of which there is any positive record. This monument is near the road from which a well beaten path indicates that it is frequently visited by the passers-by. It was erected by the descendants of Catherine Gougar, headed by Honorable Oliver P. Goodman, former member of the Ohio House of Representatives and mayor of Kingston, Ohio. Many of the family lived in Green Township and Chillicothe. The spot where the monument stands Catherine Gougar Goodman cleared herself and requested that she should be buried there. It was there that she was held captive by the Shawano Indians in the long ago. This is historic ground and is visited each year by many tourists.

The parents of Catherine Gougar Goodman emigrated to Northumberland County, Pennsylvania, when she was a little girl, and later moved to Berks County, being among the early pioneer families of that part of the country, while the colonies were still under British dominion.

In 1744, when she was but twelve years old, she and a little brother were captured by the Indians, her father being killed in the fight. Her mother had gone to a spring some distance away and so escaped. The In-

dians hurried the children westward and on the third day the little boy was killed. Catherine was held a captive for five years, but was not unkindly treated. She was traded to French-Canadians who took her to Canada where she remained two years. Finally returning to Pennsylvania, she found her mother was dead and the cabin home abandoned. She remained with friends there until her marriage with George Goodman in 1756.

Six children were born to them, four sons and two daughters. In 1798, Mrs. Goodman, then sixty-six years old, with her son John came to Ross County, bringing with her her two youngest children, Christenia and William. Christenia married a Mr. Moots and located on Mad river in Logan County, Ohio. William married and settled in Crawford County, Ohio. Both lived to an advanced age.

John took up land in what is now Green Township, Ross County. His mother recognized the places where she had lived when a captive of the Shawano Indians. Here she lived and died. The monument marks the last resting place of a pioneer mother whose life was marked by many changes of fortune that make it one of unusual interest, even in the thrilling period of border adventure and warfare.

The Indians remained in camp near the mouth of Blackwater Creek, in Green Township, Ross County, from 1745-1746 and then moved to Kentucky for a short time and later to the northern part of Ohio.

The foregoing facts were obtained from the youngest son and daughter of Catherine Gougar Goodman and recorded about the year 1860.

## OHIO AND WESTERN EXPANSION

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BY PROFESSOR WILLIS ARDEN CHAMBERLIN,  
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Wonderful opportunity, matched by daring enterprise, — that is the formula to account for the marvelous development of the Buckeye State. The growth of Ohio is the epitome of national expansion. Its transformation from the wilderness, in which roamed savage Redmen and wild beasts prowled, to the present well-ordered commonwealth, is the epic of American civilization.

Ohio was the first orderly step in the “winning of the west.” Though Kentucky and Tennessee were settled earlier by the adventurous backwoodsmen, that movement was spontaneous and unorganized. The occupation of the territory north of the Ohio, however, was by arrangement of Congress. Principles of organization were laid down, which have been followed in the opening of all subsequent territory. The rise of Ohio is typical in many respects of the expansion of the middle west. The same difficulties faced the early colonists; similar agencies and forces were operative in all of these young communities. Ohio had the start of the others in time. It possessed also great natural advantages in location and varied resources, which have given it precedence in many ways. The pioneers of Ohio solved the problems that confronted them and devised policies that have served as examples to the



newer states. So wisely were the foundations of the young commonwealth laid by the fathers that succeeding generations have needed only to build along the original lines to rear a worthy structure. The young state has risen to a star of the first magnitude in the galaxy of the Union.

Statehood was achieved in 1803, when Ohio was received into the Union, the first of the group of states formed from the Northwest Territory. The new commonwealth embraced the territory between Lake Erie and the Ohio river. It was approximately 200 miles each way and covered an area of 41,000 square miles. It was a prize wrested successively from the Redmen, the French and the English. Washington and many lesser heroes had a part in this conquest. On their efforts hung the destiny of the continent.

#### CHARACTER OF THE PIONEERS

It was no accident that the new commonwealth rose so rapidly in population and prosperity. Natural and economic forces, as definite in their effect as physical laws, account for this achievement. The foundations of prosperous growth were laid in the character of the pioneers. The founders of the new state were from the best people of the eastern states. They were robust in body and equally strong in moral character. Many Revolutionary heroes were among them. They were intelligent, experienced, self-reliant. Many of them were well educated and made the beginning of education and religious life in the West. Massachusetts sent the first colony to Marietta, in 1788, under the leadership of Manasseh Cutler. "No colony in America,"

said Washington, "was ever settled under such favorable auspices. . . . Information, property and strength will be its characteristics. I know many of the settlers personally and there never were men better calculated to promote the welfare of such a community." Cincinnati, Dayton, Chillicothe and Cleveland were founded in the next few years and became centers of population for people from New Jersey, Virginia, and Connecticut. Many accessions from the thrifty Scotch-Irish and the sober Pennsylvania Germans filled up the eastern part of the state. Of the Western Reserve, which was settled by pure New England stock, it was said by B. A. Hinsdale: "No similar territory west of the Allegheny Mountains has so impressed the brain and the conscience of the country."

Added to these moral elements of the pioneers were material gifts unstinted in amount. In the virgin soil lay agricultural and mineral wealth of inestimable value, waiting only for human hands to develop.

#### ADVANTAGEOUS LOCATION

The advantageous location of the Ohio country as the middle ground between the East and the West was recognized by statesmen, when western expansion was first considered. The Ohio River furnished an easy avenue of trade with the Southwest, and it was a serious question whether the trade of this interior territory would not follow the line of least resistance, instead of flowing eastward to enrich the Atlantic states. Washington was one of the first to realize the economic importance of this western region, and he urged repeatedly the construction of a road by way of the Potomac or

James Rivers and thence over the mountains of his native state to the Ohio, to unite the two sections. "It has long been my decided opinion," he writes to Governor Benjamin Harrison, "that the shortest, easiest, and least expensive communication with the invaluable and extensive country back of us would be by one or both of the rivers of this state." He urges the political necessity of applying the "cement of interest to bind all parts of the Union together by indissoluble bonds." "Smooth the road, and make easy the way for them," he says, "and then see what an influx of articles will be poured upon us; how amazingly our exports will be increased by them, and how amply we shall be compensated for any trouble and expense we may encounter to effect it." Washington did not live to see his plan realized. But it bore fruit later in influencing Jefferson, when President, to approve the construction of the Cumberland Road. The two pioneer routes, either by the Mohawk Valley and Lake Erie, or overland to the Ohio River, are the basic lines for all the present complicated highways of commerce between the interior and the seaboard. Hundreds of millions of dollars have been expended by public and private enterprise, to deepen the rivers and harbors, to dig canals and build railroads. Ohio has been the beneficiary of these improvements.

#### OHIO THE CENTER OF AN INLAND EMPIRE

For more than a century the tide of settlement has swept westward, carrying a constant stream of population into the interior states. This movement has brought out the natural advantage of Ohio, which has

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long since ceased to be considered the backdoor of the populous East, but the gateway to the vast inland empire of the West. More than one-half of the population of the United States and Canada lies within a day's journey of Ohio. With its pivot on Columbus, a needle 500 miles long would cover in its sweep the largest cities and the most populous states in the Union. Its eastern tip would rest on New York and Philadelphia. Sweeping northward it would cover Rochester, Buffalo, Toronto and Detroit, pass Chicago on the west and touch the Mississippi at St. Louis, Baltimore, Washington, and Atlanta would be included in its eastern and southern curve. Ohio is the center of this imperial domain lying between the Ocean and the Mississippi. Into this rich territory Ohio pours the floods of her agricultural, mineral and industrial wealth. This modern Ceres laves her crown in the waves of Lake Erie, plants her footsteps amid the hills of the Ohio, and extends her bounties on either side, to the crowded cities of the eastern seaboard and to the far-flung line of the western horizon.

#### ACCESS TO MARKETS

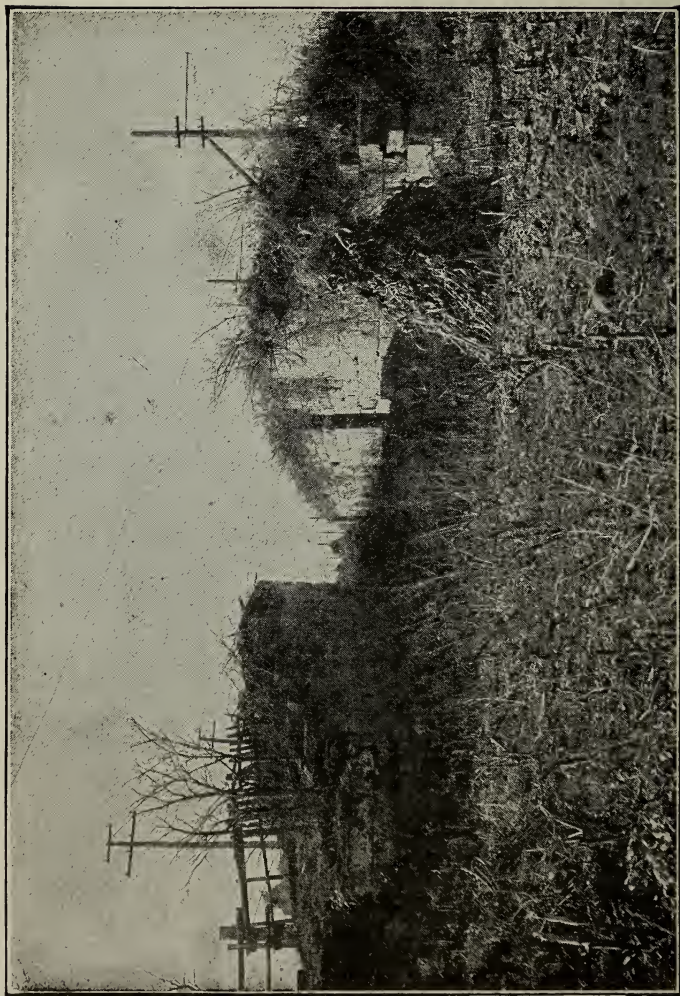
But the problem in early years was how to get the goods to market. The cost of transportation was prohibitive. The rise of Ohio as a commercial power sprang from the development of new means of transportation. The aid of the National Government was happily gained for this object. The first step in internal improvement was taken in the construction of the National Road from Cumberland, Maryland, to Columbus, Ohio. Its effect upon commerce was quickly felt. Canals and water ways were the next steps. Only a



narrow watershed separates the Ohio and Mississippi systems from the St. Lawrence basin. Several rivers flowed on either side and offered practicable channels for trade. It remained to bridge the moderate height of land by a series of locks, in order to connect the Lake with the river and open a passage to the interior. Two extensive canal systems were projected and gradually completed: the Ohio Canal between Cleveland and Portsmouth, built 1825-32; and the Miami Canal joining Cincinnati and Dayton, and eventually extended to Toledo. These canal systems, with their main lines, branches and connections, comprised more than 900 miles of waterways. Their influence in stimulating traffic cannot be overestimated. But long before these canals were completed the age of steam dawned. The railroads began to stretch out their iron fingers in all directions after the nation's commerce. Gradually the canal systems languished before their powerful rivals. The barges rotted at the banks and the lock gates were constantly open. Even yet the old channels, choked with weeds, and the ruins of the old locks, can be seen in many places.

#### AGRICULTURAL WEALTH

With transportation provided to eastern markets came the era of agricultural and commercial development. Farming was the basic industry and is even yet the basis of the state's prosperity. In spite of her relatively small area, Ohio stands among the half-dozen leading states in the value of her farm products. Nature has been very generous with her bounties. Ages before the advent of man, nature was active in shaping the surface of this state and in filling the soil with



AN OLD LOCK ON THE OHIO CANAL, NEAR NEWARK, OHIO.

The Ohio Canal was begun in 1825, completed in 1832 and connected the lake at Cleveland with the Ohio River at Portsmouth, Ohio.

fertility. The glaciers of the Ice Age, in their ponderous forward movement, smoothed off the rugged features. They carried masses of alluvium, which were deposited by the melting of the ice to form the broad terraces of rich soil along the streams. The total land area of the state is 26,073,600 acres. Over seven-eighths of this area are comprised in farm lands. The whole number of farms is more than 256,000, and it is significant of the high class of the rural population, that more than two-thirds of these farms are owned by the men who operate them.

Ohio with its limited size does not vie with some of the western states in the production of wheat, yet it can be depended upon to yield a large supply of this necessary food. In 1919, when the world looked to America for food, Ohio farmers turned more than 58,000,000 bushels of wheat into the national granary. Corn is the largest crop both in acreage and in yield. The average crop is around 150,000,000 bushels. Hay is another staple. Oats and other grains are grown in abundance. Ohio farms are notable for the variety of products grown. Even special crops, as tobacco, onions and sugar beets, flourish in particular localities.

#### HORTICULTURE

"And his black eyes shone through the forest-gleam,  
And he plunged young hands into new-turned earth,  
And prayed young orchard boughs into birth,  
And he ran with the rabbit and slept with the stream.  
And so for us he made great medicine  
In the days of President Washington."

So sings Vachel Lindsay in his recent epic poem in praise of "Johnny Appleseed," the first orchardist in

this section, whose eccentric habit of strewing apple seeds wherever he went gained for him this sobriquet. He owned a farm near Ashland, on which he had a nursery of apple trees. Some of his trees are still bearing fruit, though nearly a hundred years old. From present developments he is shown to be not so simple as his contemporaries thought, but a man with a clear faith in the future. His hobby of fruit raising has become a profitable part of Ohio agriculture. Many fruit growers are finding this state an ideal place for their business. Some large orchards of apples date back sixty to seventy years, but it is the recent scientific methods of spraying and culture that have made them profitable. The hillsides of Lawrence County seem specially favorable for production of apples, but no part of the state has an exclusive interest.

The northern part along the lake is one of the best peach and grape growing regions in the country. The tempering influence of the large body of water on the climate is just what is needed to protect the sensitive fruit from the severe cold. The soil also, impregnated with lime, is peculiarly adapted for this culture. Mile after mile along the ridges are covered with vineyards; with their purple clusters, and marked with peach orchards.

#### CATTLE AND SHEEP

Stock raising in all its branches is well represented in Ohio. The country-side is dotted with grazing cattle, and flocks of sheep are seen on many hillsides. The colonists from New England, who were accustomed to sheep on their rugged farms back home, brought this industry into Ohio. Sheep and wool were a large com-



modity during two-thirds of the last century. But the sheep industry has declined in recent years, though Ohio still raises more sheep and wool than any other state of her class.

#### MINERAL WEALTH

"The industrial importance of Ohio is due in great measure to its natural resources." This is the statement of the government report, which continues: "The state ranked fourth in 1914 in total value of mineral products, first in output of clay products, fifth in quantity and fourth in value of coal, fourth in quantity and third in value of natural gas, and seventh in output of petroleum." These mineral deposits are of the most useful kinds and are distributed throughout all parts of the state. Salt was the first of these products to be used commercially. In several places salt licks were found, which even before the coming of the white men were favorite haunts of the buffalo and the Redmen. Iron was discovered in paying quantities and many blast furnaces were erected in the early decades of the last century for the reduction of iron ore. Limestone is another valuable building product found in several localities. The State Capitol is of limestone from a quarry near Columbus. Sandstone underlies much of the northern part of the state. The quarries about Berea are famous for their supplies of building and paving stones.

#### COAL

But the state is especially rich in one of the essentials of modern life,—coal. Strata of coal lie near the surface and may be seen cropping out in some places along the sides of railroad cuts. Geologists tell us that

ages ago southeastern Ohio was covered with an inland sea, whose shallow and marshy shores were filled with dense vegetation. In later ages this luxurious growth of vegetation was covered with sedimentary rocks and subjected to great physical and chemical processes, which gradually transformed it into high grade bituminous coal. In the coal seams are occasionally found the trunks of trees and even their leaves and spores, carbonized into the best of fuel. Ten thousand square miles of the state's surface are underlain with coal. The richest bed is the Pittsburgh seam, which Professor F. Carney, a geologist, called "the most famous horizon of coal in the Appalachian region."

Besides providing for local consumption the Ohio mines are relied upon to supply a large part of the fuel for the West and Northwest. The coal shipments to the upper lakes reach annually immense proportions. Several lines of railroads cross the state, whose chief business is the transportation of coal from the mines to the lake ports. When a coal famine threatened the Northwest in 1920, the Ohio mines were speeded up to avert the danger. Some 3000 to 4000 car loads of coal per day were delivered, were poured a carload at a time into the capacious holds of the lake carriers and rushed to the upper lakes. Thus the threatened shortage was avoided.

#### NATURAL GAS AND PETROLEUM

About thirty-five years ago natural gas was obtained in sufficient quantities in Ohio for commercial purposes. Its presence in salt wells and in other places had been noted much earlier. The first wells were shallow and yielded only enough gas for domestic use. But when

deeper wells were bored, larger "pockets" were pierced, which released great volumes of gas. It gushed forth with such violence as frequently to hurl the heavy drills out of the borings with a roar that could be heard for miles. Wells flowing from 3,000,000 to 5,000,000 cubic feet per day were common. The Clinton sand has proved to be one of the most productive gas reservoirs of all the world. It underlies an area extending from the shore of the lake southward almost to the Ohio River. The maximum production of gas in Ohio was reached about ten years ago, when it exceeded 56,000,000,000 cubic feet for the year. Several large wells flowed at first at the rate of 12,000,000 feet or even 15,000,000 feet per day, and one drilled in Wayne County in 1915 poured out the gas at the rate of 22,000,000 cubic feet per day. Gas was consumed with prodigal wastefulness at first, as if the supply were inexhaustible. After a few years producers learned better methods of controlling the flow. New fields were discovered, and a reliable supply of gas for domestic and industrial purposes has been furnished to many cities during the past twenty-five years. But experts declare that the supply is rapidly failing.

Oil is found in abundant supply at many places in proximity to gas. Oil producing territory was first developed in the eastern counties. But the flow was small compared to the volume coming from the Lima-Marion pool more recently discovered. This field extends in a southwesterly direction from Lake Erie to Marion, Indiana. The belt is twenty miles in breadth in some places. The oil is found in the Trenton rock at a depth varying from 1,000 to 1,500 feet. From the

Ohio field alone over 25,000,000 barrels of oil were produced in one year.

#### MANUFACTURING IS THE FOREMOST INTEREST

With its wealth of natural resources and its location at the center of the most populous section of the Union, it is not strange that manufacturing has become the chief industry of the state. The progress in that direction is marked by tremendous strides. The state ranks fourth among the states in the total value of manufactured products, and third in the number of wage earners. The expansion of Ohio's industries in the last half-decade, 1914-19, is unparalleled. During that period the value of manufactures in the state increased 185 per cent, to a total volume of \$5,100,299,000. A further evidence of industrialism is the increasing proportion of the population gathered in cities and towns.

Ohio ranks first in several different lines of manufacture; especially rubber goods, clay products, stoves, and the glass industry. It takes second place in several other of the biggest industries, such as manufacture of automobiles, and of steel and iron products. Not only in the bulk of manufactured products, but especially in the variety, the state is remarkable. Of the 356 branches of industry in the United States, classified by the Census, 302 branches were represented in this state.

Lying between New York and Pennsylvania, the largest producers of the East, and Illinois the greatest in the West, and with the best markets of America within a day's distance, Ohio is at the center of the industrial and commercial life of the United States. Her



constant outgoing streams of materials and manufactured products are currents of power to energize the vast machinery of American industry. Ohio is the dynamo of national commerce and industry.

#### WATERWAYS

Ohio owes its phenomenal rise as an industrial power to its unrivaled waterways. The Ohio River, with its course of 436 miles along the southern border, and Lake Erie on the north provide two avenues of connection with the world. Hulbert, the historian of the Ohio River, calls it "a strategic avenue of national expansion," and "one strategic course of empire to the heart of the continent." The story of "the beautiful river" is full of romantic charm. Around its banks were waged the fierce conflicts between the Redmen, French, English and Americans for the possession of the heart of the continent. On its placid surface it bore first the birch bark canoe, sometimes filled with dusky warriors but more often on peaceful mission bent, skimming light as a feather over its waves. Then came the flat-boats and keel boats, floating the hopeful colonists to their new homes, or loaded with corn and bacon for commercial ventures in Southern markets. Lastly echoed the hoarse voice of the steamer among the hills, symbol of the new age of invention.

The traffic on the Great Lakes developed later, but it has risen to far greater proportions. The rapid expansion of this traffic is due to the building of the Sault Canal. "No single accomplishment in a constructive way has meant so much to water-borne commerce as the building of this canal," is the opinion of one writer.

The discovery of the unlimited deposits of iron ore in the Lake Superior region, and the enormous demand for iron and steel, have been the motive forces in the growth of lake transportation. For several years the shipments of iron ore have exceeded 60,000,000 tons annually. Figures give the faintest conception of the mountains of ore that are yearly dumped upon the docks of Lake Erie. Many of the steel boats used in this trade would make an ocean ship look small. Ore carriers 500-600 feet long are common. To accommodate these leviathans, old harbors have been reconstructed. New docks have been built, extending into the lake, protected by breakwaters, walls of cement and steel. They are provided with the most powerful loading and unloading machinery in the world. The hydraulic elevators lift a car-load of coal every two or three minutes and pour its contents into the gaping holds of the steel freighters. Correspondingly powerful electric cranes lift the iron ore in great buckets, convey them to the dock to the desired position, and dump the ore in mountainous piles that accumulate for the following winter. A cargo of 10,000 tons can be unloaded in two hours. These wonderful machines are so carefully adjusted in their mechanism that their operation resembles the groping of human hands and the lifting of giant arms perform the labor of ten thousand men. They are Ohio-made.

#### THE STEEL INDUSTRY

Economic forces have destined Ohio for a leading position in the iron and steel industry. Her unique location between the richest iron mines of America and the vast coal deposits gives to this state a most advan-

tageous position for the production of iron and steel. Eastern Ohio, where the two commodities meet, is ablaze with furnaces pouring out their molten masses night and day to gird the continent.

Iron is found in small quantities in Ohio and the iron business dates from early days. The first blast furnace was erected in 1804 near Youngstown, and it was followed by several others in the next few years. They used the iron and limestone found in the Mahoning Valley and had a daily output of from two and one-half to three tons. The discovery of the Lake Superior mines, however, was the decisive influence in the establishment of the giant industry of modern times. The blast furnaces are the most picturesque feature of the steel mills. Like huge infernos they shoot their flames high in the air with a roar like the howls of condemned spirits, and lighting up the heavens with a baleful glare. In the rolling mills the rough ingots of steel are heated to white heat and then are run between great rollers, which exert enormous pressure upon the steel and reduce it to the desired shape, whether it be steel rails, girders, wire or flat bands.

#### THE MARVEL OF RUBBER

Second only to iron and steel in its usefulness in daily life comes rubber. It enters into a thousand necessities of human beings. It has made possible the tremendous expansion of industry in recent decades, not only by its direct contributions to transportation, but also by numberless indirect means.

That rubber can be transformed from a black, sticky, shapeless mass into elastic bands, flexible clothing, hard

and resilient tires, buoyant airships, and into a substance capable of polish like steel, — these transformations are the miracles of every-day life. The use of rubber in a general way sprang from a fortunate accident, by which the process of vulcanization was discovered. By this process the crude material is hardened, so that it is no longer sensitive to heat and cold. The phenomenal rise of the rubber industry belongs to the last fifty years. By another fortunate circumstance the infant industry was located at Akron, when the pioneer factory was brought there through the enterprise of a far-seeing citizen of that city. The beginning was modest, but out of it has developed the second largest industry of the United States. Akron, "the rubber city," has risen from a town of 10,000 people to one of the chief cities of the state, with a population exceeding 200,000.

#### RUBBER TIRES

Rubber has revolutionized transportation by its use for tires on vehicles. Thirty years ago rubber tires for bicycles and carriages constituted the chief use of this material. Then the invention of pneumatic tires led the way to the manufacture of automobile tires. Without the inflated tire, the automobile would never have been practical for rapid locomotion. Conversely, the unparalleled increase in the number of motor vehicles accounts for the marvelous strides of the rubber business. The pioneer plant of fifty years ago has grown perhaps a hundredfold, while many similar plants have been organized in Akron and adjacent cities. Some of these plants have capacity for turning out more than 30,000



tires a day. It is estimated that Akron supplies sixty-five per cent of all tires. Naturally Ohio has first place in the rubber industry.

Although tires comprise the bulk of the rubber manufacturing, there is almost endless variety of other articles. One plant lists 30,000 different articles which it produces.

#### RUBBER HELPED WIN THE WAR

There was no single material, aside from the actual weapons and munitions of warfare, that was so indispensable in the war as rubber. In this particular one thinks first of the millions of tires on automobiles, trucks, ambulances and airplanes. Then came rubber garments and rubber footwear for the soldiers. The rubber gas masks were absolutely indispensable and were a triumph of inventive genius in combating a new danger. Of almost equal importance were the telephones and telegraphs, in which rubber was used for insulating and in the instruments.

The demand for observation balloons, airships and dirigibles produced a new industry in rubber manufacture. One of the secrets of the war is that Akron plants produced over 900 balloons and dirigibles during the war. This city has the only complete plants in the country for the manufacture and testing of lighter-than-air craft.

If to all these necessities, directly connected with the fighting, we add the multitude of surgical appliances, in which rubber is an essential part, and which were vitally important in the care of the wounded, it is not too much to say, that rubber was an essential element in winning the war.

## OTHER MANUFACTURES

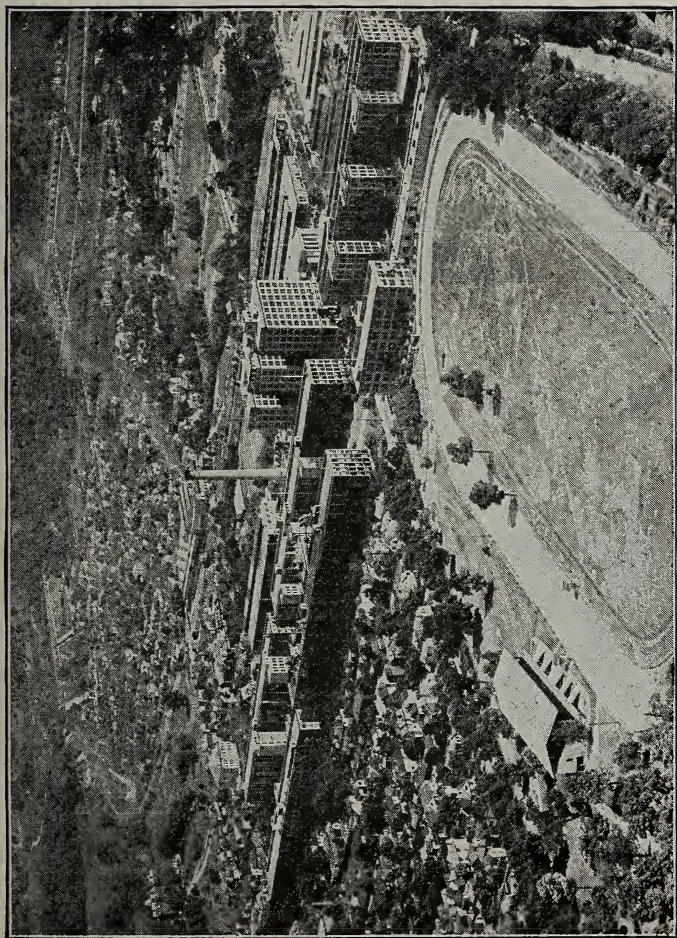
Ohio is closely identified with the manufacturing of automobiles. The first automobiles produced for sale were made in a Cleveland factory. The state has kept pace with the rising industry and is the second largest producer of automobiles in the country. It is also a large producer of automobile parts, which is a distinct and prominent branch of manufacturing.

Dayton is known the world round as the home of the National Cash Register. Here has been built up a great enterprise, whose product is an almost indispensable aid to business. The plant where the cash registers are made is no less remarkable than the machine, almost human in its performances. Other instruments of measurement and calculation are made at Dayton.

The center of the manufacture of clay products is located at East Liverpool. Many plants are located in and around this city, turning out large quantities of useful and decorative pottery ware. Porcelain, crockery, and ornamental articles of various kinds give this city a wide reputation. Other extensive potteries, whose products are well known, are situated at Zanesville and Cincinnati.

Clothing manufacturing has grown rapidly in Ohio during recent years and bids fair to become one of the leading lines of production.

Even a hasty review of the many lines of Ohio manufacture would exceed the bounds of this article.



CASH REGISTER PLANT, DAYTON, OHIO.

## NATIONAL LEADERSHIP

After all, the material features are but the frame of the picture. The brightest page of Ohio history is the people themselves. In the wonderful prosperity of the state they are the chief asset. Their distinction brings the state into national prominence. Without reference to the present administration, in which the predominance of Ohio men awakens almost the envy of sister states, Western men in general and Ohio men in many instances have been the controlling forces in national affairs. With its glance forward, not backward, the West is the parent of reform, the champion of progress.

## SPIRITUAL FORCES

The explanation of this distinction is found in the spiritual forces which have determined the character of these people. Descendants of the best American stock, reared in moral principles, they have a splendid endowment of virtue and intelligence. They look upon the Ordinance of 1787 as the Magna Charta of their civil liberty. It established the principles that are now accepted everywhere in the Union as fundamental, but which were first applied on a large scale to the Northwest Territory. The Ordinance proclaimed religious toleration, prohibited human slavery, encouraged religion and education, and declared the complete union of the state with the National Government. These are the ideals of political and moral life that Ohio people cherish as dearly as life.

As is fitting for the first state organized as a ward of the Federal Government, Ohio, like all of those of the Central West, has been most loyal to the Govern-



ment in the stress of war. Her people have been quick to respond to the Nation's call both for men and for money and all comprehended under the term "sinews of war." This is Roosevelt's comment on this fact:

"The mighty and populous commonwealths that lie north of the Ohio and in the valley of the upper Mississippi are in a peculiar sense the children of the National Government, and it is no mere accident that has made them in return the special guardians and protectors of that Government, for they form the heart of the Nation."

#### PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Probably no single force has been so influential in moulding Ohio's history as the system of free public schools. Fostered at first by the National Government, carried on later by the state itself, education has been a passion with these people, which neither the hardships of pioneer homes nor the press of sterner duties could extinguish.

No other enterprise enjoys such a degree of popular confidence as the public schools. Each year they receive millions of dollars for current expenses, and the value of permanent school property runs into the hundreds of millions. A million pupils are enrolled this year in Ohio schools, and nearly 35,000 teachers are engaged in instructing this army. But more significant than these figures is the improvement in the personnel of the teachers and in the character and numbers of scholars entering the higher grades. The new school code, adopted 1914, raises the standards required of teachers. Intending teachers are encouraged to take a large amount of professional study, which is accepted in place of an examination.

## TOWNSHIP SCHOOLS

A progressive movement is seen in the centralized township schools, that are taking the place of the small rural schools. "The most outstanding feature of educational progress in the state in the last ten years," says George M. Morris, State Superintendent of Rural Schools, "is without any doubt the consolidation and centralization of the rural township schools. Largely as an effect of this movement the attendance of the high schools has increased about fifty per cent, and the sanitary and health conditions of the homes and schools are improved." There are now about a thousand consolidated or centralized schools. Many of them are models both in equipment and in methods of instruction. In them educational advantages equal to those in city schools are available to country children. The proportion of pupils entering the high schools has been largely increased and about twelve and one-half per cent of high school graduates continue their courses in colleges.

## OHIO THE MOTHER OF COLLEGES

The state is famous as the home of many colleges. The first one was founded in 1804, one year after statehood was achieved, on the grant of two sections of land, at Athens. It was the child of the New England colony. It is still flourishing as Ohio University. Many private colleges were founded during the next half century, representing all the leading religious denominations. There are several state and municipal institutions. Forty colleges in different parts of the state testify to the people's interest in higher education.

In respect to her care for the helpless and dependent

classes, Ohio is making a generous record. Her benevolent and correctional institutions are twenty in number, placed under the Department of Public Welfare. The annual reports of these institutions will convince anyone that the state is making strenuous efforts for the care of the dependent classes.

The state is increasing its oversight of vital conditions by the coöperation of state and local authorities. Recent legislation provides for district health officers and public nurses. A bureau of vital statistics is in operation. The health of school children is carefully looked after. Standards of health are being established and the people are being educated to care more scientifically for the physical welfare of themselves and their families.

#### HOME ENVIRONMENT

The best indication of the people's welfare is to be found in their domestic arrangements. What are their standards of living? Are their homes furnished with conveniences and with labor-saving devices? In short, what is their home environment? In this respect the people of Ohio have reason for great satisfaction, for their surroundings have improved in proportion to their material prosperity. The outstanding fact in this regard is, that Ohio is a state of free holders. No less than two-thirds of its farms are owned by those who work them. The proportion of property owners in towns and cities would doubtless be equally remarkable. Cleveland is proud of the fact that thirty-five percent of her citizens own their homes. Recent reports credit Columbus with a slightly larger per cent of home owners.

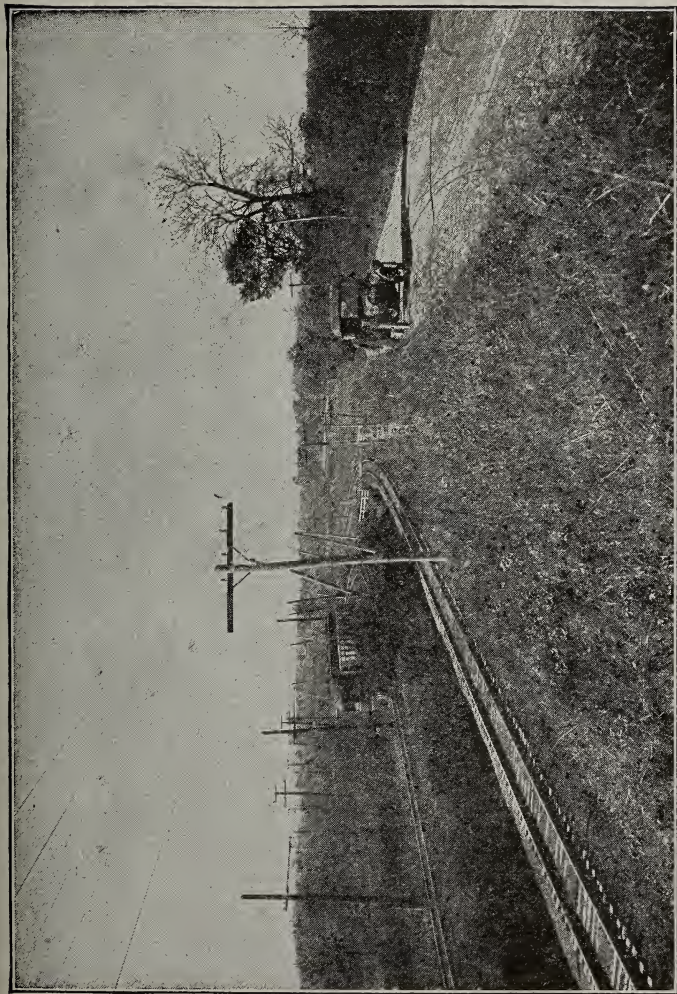
As to household conveniences, they are the rule now in cities and towns. Sanitary fixtures, electricity and gas for lighting and heating, telephones and machinery for household work are common in these homes. But the dwellers in the country have been especially benefited by these modern inventions, through which the isolation of country life has been overcome. Over sixty-two per cent of country homes in Ohio have telephones. One in six of these rural homes has water piped into it, and one in seven is lighted with gas or electricity. Rural mail delivery reaches practically every farm in the state once a day.

The intelligence and prosperity of the rural communities are reflected by the equipment of machinery and appliances. Automobiles, trucks and tractors are rapidly supplementing horse power on Ohio farms. There are over 128,000 automobiles and 10,000 tractors on these farms.

#### IMPROVED ROADS

Perhaps no improvement in the last ten years is of greater economic value than the improved roads. Great activity is shown in this direction. Federal, state and local authorities coöperate in the movement. The old National Road, which was in a ruinous condition, was one of the first highways to receive attention. It has been graded and paved the whole breadth of the state and is one of the beautiful highways of the country. The so-called primary system of highways will be nearly completed this season. It includes seven main thoroughfares, three east and west, three north and south, and a diagonal highway from Cleveland via Columbus to Cincinnati. 4500 miles of improved high-





### THREE MODES OF TRANSPORTATION.

The history of the commercial prosperity of Ohio is summed up in the history of transportation. Here, at a point near Newark, Ohio, are four parallel lines of travel. On the right is the highway, next to it a branch of the New York Central Railroad, then the Ohio Electric Line, and on the left, the old channel of the Ohio Canal, in which a stock of corn is standing.

ways are already constructed and soon all parts of the state will be connected with rain-proof roads.

#### THE LEAVEN OF EXPANSION

No mention has thus far been made of the number of people composing the population of this state. It is not surprising, from the foregoing facts, that the population has increased one-fifth in ten years and numbers five and three-fourths millions. But the amount of population is of secondary interest. What is of primary importance is, that this army of five and three-fourths millions be animated with common purposes and inspired with noble principles. This is the work of all of those subtle forces, of which some of the most obvious have been pointed out, in the preceding pages, forever playing upon the plastic material of human nature. The influence of these forces is seen, not only within the bounds of this one state, but throughout the newer West, where the same spirit that actuates Ohio has been the leaven of expansion.

## RESOURCES OF OHIO

To show in accurate and concise form the present resources of Ohio, tabular statements of the agricultural, mineral, and manufacturing products are here presented. The statistics have been compiled from the latest official reports, of which advance sheets have been furnished to the writer. The sources indicated supply more detailed information.

## AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES

Statistics of the leading crops for 1921 are presented in Table No. 1. As the year 1921 was a poor year for farming, the crops show a decrease in every instance in comparison with the preceding year. To show more nearly the average yield, the figures for the year 1920 are also given.\*

TABLE No. 1.

	Acres		Yield Per Acre		Production in Bushels	
	1920	1921	1920	1921	1920	1921
Corn .....	3,585,000	3,501,000	43.4	41	155,589,000	143,541,000
Wheat .....	2,350,000	2,280,000	12.7	12.4	29,845,000	28,272,000
Oats .....	1,540,000	1,614,000	44.2	23	68,088,000	37,122,000
Barley .....	102,000	97,000	27.7	21	2,825,000	2,037,000
Rye .....	90,000	83,000	14.4	13	1,296,000	1,079,000
Buckwheat .....	26,000	21,000	20.9	25	543,000	525,000
Irish Potatoes.....	116,000	116,000	100	58	11,600,000	6,728,000
Hay .....	3,150,000	3,213,000	1.35 (Tons)	1.27 (Tons)	4,252,000 (Tons)	4,081,000 (Tons)
Tobacco .....	63,000	42,000	960 (lbs.)	920 (lbs.)	60,480,000 (lbs.)	38,640,000 (lbs.)

\* Statistical Handbook of Ohio Agriculture, Official Bulletin, Department of Agriculture, March, 1922, and March, 1921.

Table No. 2 gives the maximum production in one year of the particular crop, the year when produced, the acreage, and the total farm value of the crop.

TABLE No. 2.

Year	Crop	Total Acreage	Yield Per Acre	Total Production in Bushels	Farm Value
1919	Wheat .....	2,922,592	19.9	58,124,351	\$123,223,624
1920	Corn .....	3,735,000	43.4	162,099,000	110,227,000
1918	Oats .....	1,700,000	44	74,800,000	52,360,000
1918	Barley .....	115,000	31.5	3,622,000	3,368,000
1918	Rye .....	111,000	17	1,887,000	2,830,000
1919	Buckwheat .....	30,413	22.1	640,662	993,026
1917	Irish Potatoes.....	160,000	100	16,000,000	22,880,000
1916	Hay .....	3,250,000	1.57 (Tons)	5,102,000 (Tons)	54,081,000
1917	Tobacco .....	103,000	960 (pounds)	99,072,000 (pounds)	24,768,000

### Live Stock

The following is the number of head of live stock on Ohio farms, according to the Census of 1920, as given in the Official Bulletin of the Ohio Department of Agriculture, March, 1921:

TABLE No. 3.

Horses	All Cattle	Swine	Sheep	Dairy Cows
810,692	1,926,823	3,083,846	2,102,550	1,059,483



## MINERAL RESOURCES

Table No. 4 is a statement of the amount and the value of the leading mineral products for the years 1919 and 1920. Except as indicated, the figures are taken from the Reports of the Mineral Resources of the United States in 1920, of the Department of the Interior at Washington. In amount of Coal mined in 1920, Ohio ranked fourth among the states; in Lime, second; and in Stone, third; in Sand and Gravel, third.

TABLE No. 4.

	1919—Tons	1920—Tons	1919—Value	1920—Value
Coal .....	35,050,000	45,000,000	Not given	Not given
Lime .....	512,614	558,892	\$4,477,987	\$6,238,908
Stone .....	8,011,530	9,105,630	8,009,649	10,856,468
Salt .....	991,730	1,057,961	2,362,941	3,326,257
Sand and Gravel.....	6,439,979	6,665,819	4,601,392	6,434,627
Cement .....	1,637,418 (barrels)	1,780,433 (barrels)	Not given	Not given
*Petroleum .....		7,412,000 (barrels)		

\* *The Oil and Gas Journal*, Feb. 24, 1922.

## MANUFACTURES

The following tables of the product of the major manufacturing industries of Ohio are compiled from advance sheets of the Census of Manufactures, 1919.

The Report states the output in units of measure, when practicable, and the total value. For purpose of comparison the statistics for the two preceding half-decade periods, 1914 and 1909, are given. It should be remembered that the abnormal prices prevailing in 1919 account partly for the immense increase of value of the products.

Statistics of sixteen leading industries are furnished. Four of these had a production valued in excess of \$150,000,000 each; the other twelve ranged in value of product from \$29,000,000 to \$89,000,000. The industries are listed in the order of their production.

TABLE No. 5.

*Iron and Steel—Steel Works and Rolling Mills*

	1919	1914	1909
Rolled, forged, and other iron and steel products—Tons .....	8,956,138	6,303,890	5,898,690
Value .....	\$554,496,299	\$174,638,132	\$172,105,247
All other products—Value.....	\$71,873,726	\$30,385,259	\$25,674,796
Total Value .....	\$626,370,025	\$205,023,391	\$197,780,043

*Iron and Steel—Blast Furnaces*

	1919	1914	1909
Pig Iron — Tons .....	7,073,337	5,279,045	5,446,971
Value .....	\$176,592,690	\$71,686,701	\$82,048,712

*Rubber Goods*

	1919	1914
Products — Value .....	\$551,118,488	\$109,658,605
The most important item in this schedule is		
Tires — Number .....	19,726,962	8,850,625
Value .....	\$362,932,865	\$71,776,078

*Automobiles, Bodies and Parts*

	1919	1914	1909
Automobiles — Total Number .....	211,019	67,483	14,299
Value .....	\$379,436,478	\$85,710,585	\$38,838,754
Chassis Number .....	30,902		
Value .....	\$45,670,445		
All other products — Value.....	\$131,163,498		

*Slaughtering and Meat Packing*

	1919	1914	1909
Products — Value .....	\$170,337,892	\$64,960,396	\$49,795,368

*Electrical Machinery*

	1919	1914	1909
Generating Apparatus, Batteries, Motors, Etc. — Value .....	\$156,924,143	\$36,120,978	\$18,776,769

*Flour-Mill and Gristmill Products*

	1919	1914	1909
Value .....	\$89,396,619	\$45,171,200	\$48,093,353

*Boots and Shoes*

	1919	1914	1909
Number of Pairs.....	17,571,593	17,161,199	17,693,316
Value (including all other footwear).....	\$71,354,850	\$32,773,922	\$10,127,836

*Machine Tools*

Includes lathes, milling and drilling machines, screw machines, shapers, hammers and other tools. These tools were listed in previous reports under "Foundry and Machine Shop Products".

	1919	1914	1909
Value .....	\$62,554,169	Not listed separately	Not listed separately

*Brick, Tile, Pottery, Clay Products*

	1919	1914	1909
Value .....	\$60,847,937	\$38,667,374	\$30,531,002

*Butter, Cheese, Condensed Milk*

	1919	1914	1909
Total Value .....	\$60,012,831	\$19,325,977	\$9,689,670

The most important items in this schedule are:

	1919	1914	1909
Butter — Pounds .....	63,882,101	43,064,562	17,491,251
Value .....	\$36,894,179	\$12,520,138	\$4,985,273
Cheese — Pounds .....	5,220,545	8,717,996	11,860,601
Value .....	\$1,634,118	\$1,051,795	\$1,533,517
Evaporated Milk — Pounds .....	85,797,526	22,390,210	Not listed separately
Value .....	\$11,153,618	\$1,608,625	.....
Condensed Milk — Pounds .....	33,386,182	28,119,638	37,655,347
Value .....	\$3,983,694	\$1,458,006	\$2,409,959

*Paper and Wood Pulp*

	1919	1914	1909
Value .....	\$55,098,196	\$23,284,192	\$16,965,260

*Paints and Varnish*

	1919	1914	1909
Value .....	\$50,477,810	\$19,326,576	\$13,617,189

*Chemicals*

	1919	1914	1909
Value .....	\$50,085,590	\$12,490,369	\$8,361,985

*Engines—Steam, Gas, and Water*

	1919	1914	1909
Value .....	\$44,750,880	\$9,471,281	.....

*Petroleum, Refining*

	1919	1914	1909
Value of All Products.....	\$43,282,801	\$11,169,189	\$10,753,738

*Glass*

	1919	1914	1909
Value .....	\$35,240,877	\$19,191,342	\$14,358,274

*Agricultural Implements*

	1919	1914	1909
Value .....	\$29,556,031	\$17,484,615	\$14,440,461



# OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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## REVIEWS, NOTES AND COMMENTS.

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BY THE EDITOR.

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### ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY

The annual meeting of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society will be held in the Museum and Library Building Saturday, September 9, 1922.

The forenoon session, which opens at nine o'clock, will be devoted chiefly to reports of officers and the various committees of the Society. Matters of more than ordinary importance will be considered at this session in view of the contemplated addition of a wing to the Museum and Library Building and other matters not heretofore considered.

The afternoon session, to which not only the members of the Society but the public is cordially invited, promises also to be of unusual interest. It opens at two o'clock. Dr. Edwin E. Sparks will deliver the annual address. The Society has been most fortunate in his expressed willingness to be present on this occasion. Dr. Sparks was for a number of years president of Pennsylvania State College. He is a historian of national reputation, an Ohioan, a graduate of our State University and a gifted speaker.

Dr. T. C. Mendenhall, the veteran educator and present Trustee of the Ohio State University, has been invited and is expected to contribute to the program.

General J. Warren Keifer, recently appointed Trustee of the Society and the only living Major General of the Civil War, will favor the Society with some very interesting and unrecorded history in an address at this meeting.

A detailed program will be mailed to the members of the Society.

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### THE HAYES CENTENARY

The tentative program for the Centenary celebration of the birth of Rutherford B. Hayes (1822-1893), the nineteenth President of the United States (1877-1881), to be held October 4, 1922, has been about completed. The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, under whose auspices the event will be celebrated, has appointed the following Committee on Arrangements to conduct the affair: Former Governor James E. Campbell, President of the Society, Chairman; Colonel Edward Orton, Jr., Beman G. Dawes, F. W. Treadway, Arthur C. Johnson, Dr. W. O. Thompson and Daniel J. Ryan. The ceremonies will take place at Spiegel Grove, Fremont, Ohio upon which is the old Hayes homestead and the Hayes Library and Museum, now the property of the Society, through the generosity and patriotism of Colonel Webb C. Hayes.

The city of Fremont has in contemplation cooperating arrangements for a combined military and historical pageant parade, leaving old Fort Stephenson at 1 P. M., the military feature of which may consist possibly of cavalry, infantry and artillery of Ohio National Guard, composed of the units Troop A of Cleveland, the Toledo Battery, and the provisional regiment of infantry, a

duplication of the troops which attended the funeral of President Hayes thirty years ago. Troop A of Cleveland was President Hayes's escort also from the White House to the Capitol on the inauguration of President Garfield, who rode with him in the Hayes family presidential carriage, now in the Hayes Museum. Troop A, after the parade back from the inauguration of President Garfield, then escorted President Hayes on his return to Ohio, and has since acted as escort at the inauguration of the Ohio presidents Harrison, McKinley and Taft, and has been in the funeral escorts of the Ohio presidents Hayes, Garfield and McKinley, and had been accepted as President-elect Harding's escort prior to the elimination of the presidential parade in the interests of public economy.

The Commander-in-Chief and the State Commander of the G. A. R., in automobiles will head the procession, followed by the Commander-in-Chief and State Commander of the Spanish War Veterans and of the World War Veterans. On arriving at the recently erected beautiful split boulder gateway in which the White House gates are to be erected, and named in honor of Major George Croghan, the defender of Fort Stephenson, in the War of 1812, at the northern entrance of the old Sandusky-Scioto Trail, known later as the Harrison Trail of the War of 1812, the Campfire Girls and other juvenile organizations will head the procession and lead them over the old Trail, under the General Sherman Elm and the Grover Cleveland Hickory, and pass the Presidential Oaks named in honor of McKinley, Garfield, Taft and Harding, past the burial plot on the Knoll, and then down through the Harrison Gateway

with its historic tablets of the Indian and French and British expeditions which marched over this Trail prior to the Revolutionary War and as far back as records of the Indian show.

The Soldiers' Memorial Parkway of Sandusky County, conceived by Colonel Hayes and tendered to the County in a cablegram from France on the day following the signing of the armistice, was laid out in the form of a cross through property presented by him to the Society. This Parkway, constructed jointly by the Society and the Commissioners of Sandusky County, consists of a strip 100 feet wide in which two rows of buckeye trees (the insignia of the 37th or Ohio Division) have been planted. To each tree is attached a memorial plate containing the name, organization, and place and date of death of one of the 83 soldiers of Sandusky County who gave his life in the World War or the War with Spain. The latter is in the form of the transept of the cross, in the center of which is a buckeye tree bearing the inscription of William McKinley, President of the United States, who died of his wounds September 14, 1901, while Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United States, which was then engaged in suppressing the Boxer uprising in China.

The Campfire Girls will kneel and drape the memorial trees when at the signal from the top of the Overseas Soldiers' Memorial Sunroom, erected by Colonel Hayes, the military procession will enter the Parkway after passing through the Harrison Gateway and march past the oval containing the flower insignias of the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, the Jewish Welfare and the Salvation Army, and pass in



review before President Harding and Cabinet, the Governor of Ohio, Generals of the Army and Admirals of the Navy, and turn sharply to the East over the McKinley Memorial Parkway and enter Spiegel Grove through the split boulder gateway recently erected in honor of Grover Cleveland, a former President of the United States, and William McKinley, Governor of Ohio, and later President of the United States, who were mourners at the funeral of their predecessor and personal friend, Rutherford B. Hayes, and who made the long trip in the dead of winter in January, 1893.

The parade will be dismissed on entering Spiegel Grove, following which dedicatory exercises of the Croghan Gate, the Harrison Gate, the McPherson Gateway, in memory of the soldiers in the War with Mexico and the War for the Union; and the memorial gateway in memory of the soldiers in the War with Spain and the World War, will be held; after which President Harding, Secretary of State Hughes and the distinguished guests of the Society will be escorted through the Hayes Memorial into the new library addition now in process of erection by the Society, through funds given by Colonel Hayes, to the portico on the south side of the new building facing the residence on its south.

The proposed engraved invitation to the Centenary ceremonies will contain a cut of the north entrance of the Hayes Memorial, and a large photogravure of Spiegel Grove showing the residence, the Hayes Memorial, the original old Sandusky-Scioto Trail, through the Grove, and is in the words following:

The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society  
requests the pleasure of your presence  
during the Centenary Celebration of the birth of  
Rutherford Birchard Hayes  
19th President of the United States, 1877-1881,  
at the dedication of  
the Library Addition to the Hayes Memorial,  
the Memorial Gateway of Spiegel Grove State Park,  
and the Soldiers' Memorial Parkways of Sandusky County,  
on Wednesday afternoon, October 4th,  
Nineteen Hundred and Twenty-two,  
Spiegel Grove, Fremont, Ohio.

Of course the celebration is a public affair, but these invitations will be sent to the distinguished guests of the Society in civil, military and official life.

The meeting will be called to order by the Hon. James E. Campbell, President of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. Following will be the program, subject to necessary alterations:

Invocation — the Rev. Dr. William F. Peirce, president of Kenyon College, from which Rutherford B. Hayes was graduated in 1842.

Welcome by his Honor William H. Schwartz, Mayor of Fremont.

Address by Charles Richard Williams, LL. D., of Princeton, N. J., author of the *Life*, and editor of the *Diary and Letters of Rutherford B. Hayes*.

Address by the Hon. Warren G. Harding, President of the United States.

Address by the Hon. Charles E. Hughes, Secretary of State of the United States.

Address by the Hon. Herbert C. Hoover, Secretary of Commerce of the United States.

Remarks by the Hon. Harry L. Davis, Governor of Ohio.

Remarks by the Hon. Atlee Pomerene, United States Senator from Ohio.

Remarks by the Hon. Frank B. Willis, United States Senator from Ohio.

Remarks by the Commander-in-Chief of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion.

Remarks by the Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic.

Remarks by the Commander-in-Chief of the Spanish War Veterans.

Remarks by the Commander-in-Chief of the American Legion.

Remarks by Major General C. S. Farnsworth, commanding the 37th (Buckeye) Division, Expeditionary Forces.

Remarks by Major General Edwin F. Glenn, commanding the 83rd Division.

Remarks by Major General Charles T. Menoher, commanding the 42nd (Rainbow) Division.

Remarks by Admiral William S. Sims, commanding American Naval Forces in European Waters.

Remarks by Major General John A. LeJeune, a commandant of the Marine Corps.

From the prospectus it is apparent that the occasion will be one of unusual importance. The day, the location, and the proceedings will especially appeal to the patriotism of Ohioans. Rutherford B. Hayes, after the passion of years has subsided, is growing in worth to the American people. The great accomplishments of his administration, viz.: the reconstruction of the South, the establishment of a sound currency and the maintenance of the civil service system have given him

his proper place in history. It is worthy and fitting that this celebration should be held where the mementoes of his civil, military and presidential life are assembled. Add to this the fact that the Spiegel Grove State Park is in itself a historic monument to the wonderful days of the past. Under the sweeping and shadowing branches of its gigantic hickories, oaks, elms and maples sped the bronzed messengers of Pontiac carrying the war wampum to the Southern Indian tribes; over the same trail marched General Harrison and his army to resist the British invader, and in a later era gathered the great Generals of the Union Army to do honor to its distinguished occupant. Here Sherman, Sheridan, Rosecrans, Crook, Comly and Scammon were visitors. Here, too, at various times came Presidents Garfield, Cleveland, McKinley, Taft and Harding.

And finally it is proper to say that after Rutherford B. Hayes retired from the Presidency of the United States, he became the head of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. He manifested great interest in its work and gave to its details all the attention required. He was himself a scholar and historian, a collector of books and manuscripts, all of which are preserved in the Museum. He was president of the Society when he died.

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#### A JOURNAL OF THE GREAT WAR

The library of the Society has received a notable gift in an autograph copy of *A Journal of the Great War* in two volumes by Brigadier General Charles G. Dawes who entered the service as Major in the Seventeenth Regiment of Engineers and was afterward pro-



moted to the responsible position of representative of the United States government on the Military Board of Allied Supply. His *Journal* presents in chronological order the events of the World War as he saw them in his varied and distinguished service. On July 26, two regiments of engineers, the Twelfth from St. Louis and the Seventeenth from Atlanta, started for the point of embarkation. We quote from the *Journal*:

"We reached New York on July 28 and were embarked on the ship *Carmania* together with the Twelfth Regiment of Engineers. \* \* \* The ship was commanded by Captain Charles, the senior captain of the Cunard Line, former captain of the *Lusitania*, though not on her when she was torpedoed. \* \* \* Colonel Sewell placed me in command of the regimental 'boat drill,' to devise the method of getting the men on deck most expeditiously opposite their assigned boats and rafts in case of submarine attack. It was a very important and responsible assignment, and I worked hard at it, gradually getting it in good shape."

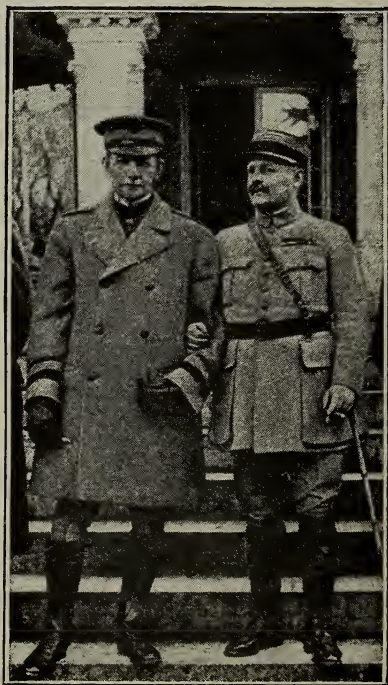
General Dawes then proceeds to describe the vessel on which he crossed the ocean, the precautions taken against submarine attack and the great dangers attending the voyage at this time. He says:

"A torpedo travels about thirty-five knots per hour. The submarine itself has to be aimed to discharge it at its mark. Hence the zigzagging of the ships expecting an attack. Our fleet zigzagged all the way across. Ships are continually attacked, and the situation is much more dangerous than would seem to one on shore."

Here he describes one particular night of the voyage and the impressions made upon him:

"The sea was rough and while it would have been difficult for a submarine to hit us I realized that if it did our loss of life would have been very large. It was very dark and cold, and it would have been almost impossible for the men to reach the rafts as we threw them off. To hear a discussion of a raft detail on

a cold, dark and foggy deck as to whether it would not be better in case of a sinking ship to take to the water without life preservers, in order to have things over quicker, only indicates how hopeless the outlook sometimes seems when one is on the sea and up against it, as compared with a discussion as to a course of action held on land before sailing."



BRIGADIER GENERAL CHARLES E. DAWES, A. E. F.,  
AND BRIGADIER GENERAL CH. PAYOT OF THE FRENCH  
ARMY, ASSOCIATES ON MILITARY BOARD OF ALLIED  
SUPPLY.

The *Carmania* arrived at Liverpool on the 11th of August, eleven days after leaving Halifax. Four days later the two regiments, joined by the Thirteenth and Fourteenth, making four regiments in all, performed the famous march through London—the first foreign armed troops that marched through that city since the

days of William the Conqueror, eight hundred and fifty-one years before. Of this march General Dawes says:

"In the parade there were four regiments of Engineers, about 4500 men in all. To each regiment was assigned a fine English band, the best in the Empire. Our regiment was the fourth in the column. Walked with Colonel Sewell at the head of the regiment and with a British peer — Lord Erskine, I think — as the liaison officer. From the station to the end of the march, and in the afternoon on the return to the depot, the streets were jammed with lines of cheering people, and the American flag was everywhere. We were reviewed by the king and queen and by the American ambassador. Lunch was served to the officers and troops in a park near the palace. After lunch the officers were taken to the British officers' quarters near by, where every attention was given us. In the afternoon we marched back to the Waterloo station through the poorer parts of the city."

In London the Twelfth and Seventeenth Regiments received orders that were soon to separate them. The Twelfth was ordered to Boulogne to join the British army on the western front, the Seventeenth to proceed to St. Nazaire, France.

From the time that General Dawes entered the service, because of his well known ability in financial matters, his services were constantly in demand and he had many tempting offers of positions outside of the regiment of engineers. He was urged by Hoover to remain in Washington. After he arrived in France he was pressed into service in the direction of the handling of supplies for the American Army. Largely through his influence this work was co-ordinated among the Allied Armies by the creation of the Military Board of Allied Supply. On this board General Dawes represented the United States. He had previously been well acquainted with General Pershing and from the time of his landing

in France there are numerous evidences of the high esteem in which he was held by the American Commander-in-Chief. The latter confided to him many of his important plans. We quote from a letter written by General Dawes June 23, 1918:

"Last Monday morning General Pershing called me by telephone to come immediately to Chaumont. I took Captain Jay with me for company. Left by motor and arrived at the General's house in time for dinner. In the evening in his room he outlined his plan of action and program for the American military effort. This was in effect a preliminary statement to me of the announcement he made to the conference of his officers the next morning. But to me he gave his reasons more in detail. The General believes that just at the present—since it is the moment of the Allies' greatest weakness—has called for Germany's supreme effort, so the time immediately following the collapse of the German offensive is the period of greatest weakness for them, and the time of our supreme effort as quickly as it can be delivered. He fears reinforcement next year for the Germans from western Russia. He feels that we must fight vigorously all along the line, utilizing against the worn foe the fresh and eager army which he commands. From the standpoint of enemy morale and our own, vigorous movement will lower theirs and increase ours."

Because of this intimate personal relation with General Pershing the *Journal* of General Dawes has a distinct historic value for students of the World War. General Dawes' service took him to almost every section of allied activity in France. There were frequent visits to the battle front as well as to the centers of supply activity in the rear of the army. There is frank and illuminating portrayal of difficulties encountered in conferences with representatives of the allied armies. There are interesting testimonials of the high regard in which he was held by the Seventeenth Regiment of Engineers with which he received his training for the service and many letters of appreciation from high



officers in the allied service. There were also citations and high honors conferred upon him. Ohioans will experience genuine pride in reading this interesting record of the World War service of one of her distinguished sons. The *Journal* is supplemented by the official reports of General Dawes and the work as a whole deserves a place in every library with a department devoted to World War history.

We must add, of course, that these volumes are published by the Houghton Mifflin Company and in illustration, typography and general appearance do credit to the best work turned out by that well known publishing house. The numerous photogravure illustrations are especially fine. The Society is under obligation to General Dawes for this gift to its library.

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#### PORTRAIT OF SENATOR THOMAS MORRIS

In recent years there has been a renaissance of interest in the life of United States Senator Morris. He was born in Berks County, Pennsylvania, January 3, 1776. Soon afterward the family moved to Virginia. He came to the Northwest Territory in 1795 and died at his home in Bethel, Clermont County, December 7, 1844. Interest in his career has been heightened by the recent centenary of the birth of General Ulysses S. Grant, the proceedings of which are detailed in this issue of the *QUARTERLY*. He served almost continuously in the General Assembly of Ohio from 1806-1832. He was a member of the House of Representatives in 1806, 1808, 1810 and 1820; of the Senate 1813-14, 1821-22, 1825-28 and 1831-32. In 1832 he was elected United States Senator and served one full term of six

years commencing March 4, 1833. At the time of his service to his state and the nation the slavery question had not broken party lines. There were anti-slavery men in the ranks of the two dominant political parties of the time, but the majority of Democrats and Whigs were strongly opposed to agitation of the question and it did not promise to rise to the dignity of a political issue.

Thomas Morris was a Democrat, thoroughly devoted to his party and one of its able advocates. He was strongly opposed to the institution of human slavery. He was one of the large number of men who came north into southern Ohio from slave states and waged valiant war against the institution which they believed to be morally wrong and to be fundamentally antagonistic to American institutions. As he advanced in his political career his antagonism to slavery grew. In time it attracted the attention of his associates in his own party who were in favor of slavery, or at least opposed to agitation of the question.

In the addresses and comments on the preceding pages his attitude is clearly set forth. For fuller details of his interesting career readers are referred to the *Life of Thomas Morris* by his son, Rev. B. F. Morris.

It is rather remarkable that there is in existence no portrait of Senator Morris. His reputation in his day extended beyond the borders of his state. His espousal of the anti-slavery cause made him the candidate of the Liberty Party for Vice-President of the United States in 1844. A long search, however, for a portrait some years ago led to the conclusion that none

is in existence. An effort was made to find a painting, daguerreotype or print to complete a list of portraits of United States senators but none was found.

On the occasion of the Grant Centenary the writer met in Bethel Doctor W. E. Thompson, who in his eighty-seventh year is still actively engaged in the practice of medicine. He is perhaps the only man living who has a distinct recollection of the personal appearance of Senator Morris. His description was so detailed and apparently accurate that he was requested to assist in the reproduction of a likeness of Morris. To this he kindly assented.

A competent person was then sought to make a sketch corresponding to the picture preserved in the memory of Doctor Thompson. Such an artist was found in Richard M. Brand of the Columbus *Evening Dispatch*. He made a number of sketches which were submitted to Doctor Thompson who suggested modifications until one was produced that met his approval. From this drawing the portrait was made which appears elsewhere in this issue of the *QUARTERLY*. It is a faithful reproduction of the features of Senator Morris as Doctor Thompson graphically recalls them. For this service the Society is under obligations to Doctor Thompson and Mr. Brand who have spent considerable time in making the presentation of such a portrait possible.

The quest for a portrait of Senator Morris made while he was living, has not ceased. It is possible that one may yet be found. Daguerreotypes were made in Ohio as early as 1841, and it seems that his prominence in 1844 would have led to a demand for a portrait, —

a demand that would have overcome his indifference to display and publicity. Three of his sons were prominent in their day: Rev. B. F. Morris, the author of his life; Jonathan D. Morris, who served two terms as congressman from Ohio; Isaac N. Morris, who served two terms as congressman from Illinois and was appointed by President Grant commissioner for the Union Pacific Railway in 1869. If a daguerreotype or painting of the Senator is in the possession of any of the descendants of these sons, it may yet be found. If it should be discovered, it will be interesting to note how nearly it corresponds with the picture on the walls of the memory of the veteran physician, Dr. Thompson of Bethel, which has been reproduced by the pen of Richard M. Brand.

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#### GRANT MEMORIAL HIGHWAY

Judge Hugh L. Nichols, Chairman of the Grant Centenary Committee, sends us the following statement in regard to this Highway:

"The Grant Memorial Road, so-called, is that part of the Ohio River Road running between New Richmond on the west and Point Pleasant on the east, a distance of five miles. The road to New Richmond from Cincinnati is in good condition and in order to make the birthplace of General Grant accessible it is the purpose of the Committee to build a highway from New Richmond to Point Pleasant so that the public may have the benefit of it.

"Congress, in February last, passed a special bill authorizing the coinage of 10,000 gold dollars and 250,000 silver half-dollars, the gold dollars now selling for \$3.00 a piece and the silver halves for \$1.00 each. A great many of these coins have already been sold and it is the purpose of the Committee in charge to devote, in a large measure, the premium to the building of this road. Of course we expect direct Federal and State aid in the matter and from this three-fold source we are confident within



a year we will have a highway of a splendid character, and when the highway has been built the argument that was made in the State Senate last year against the removal of the house in which Grant was born, from the State Fair Grounds to its original foundation, will be entirely dissipated”

The foregoing is a succinct and informing statement of fact, so far as the road is concerned, supplemented by a prophecy in regard to the dissipation of the “argument made in the State Senate.” The matter of the removal of the Grant cottage will probably be up again before the General Assembly at its coming session.

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#### DEATH OF BASIL MEEK

Basil Meek, veteran local historian, life member of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society and one of the oldest practicing lawyers in the State of Ohio, died in his home city, Fremont, April 16, four days before he was ninety-three. He contributed a number of articles to the *QUARTERLY*, his last appearing in the April number shortly before his death. He made some corrections in the proof after he was confined to the hospital in his last illness. A sketch of his life together with an autographed portrait was published with his contribution and will be found on page 129 of the April *QUARTERLY*. A number of sketches from the Fremont and other northern Ohio papers are before us, all bearing testimony to his high character, his long and useful life and the regard in which he was held by all who knew him. He had long been Secretary of the Sandusky County Pioneer Historical Association, a position which he held at the time of his death. Mr. Meek is survived by a daughter, four

grandchildren and eight great-grandchildren. His interest in local history, as attested by numerous articles and the voluminous History of Sandusky County, his kindly and cheerful disposition and his optimistic spirit will long be remembered by his fellow members of the Society.

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#### MEETING OF CRESAP SOCIETY

The Cresap Society will hold its meeting in Columbus September 15-16. The first session will be held Friday evening, September 15, at the Deshler Hotel beginning at 8:00 P. M.

On Saturday, September 16, the Society will meet in the Museum and Library Building of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society at 9:00 A. M. The business session opens at 10:00 A. M. and will include reports of committees, election of officers and future plans for the work of the Cresap Society.

Afternoon parties may be arranged for visits to the Logan Elm.



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## THE MCGUFFEY SOCIETY AT THE LOGAN ELM

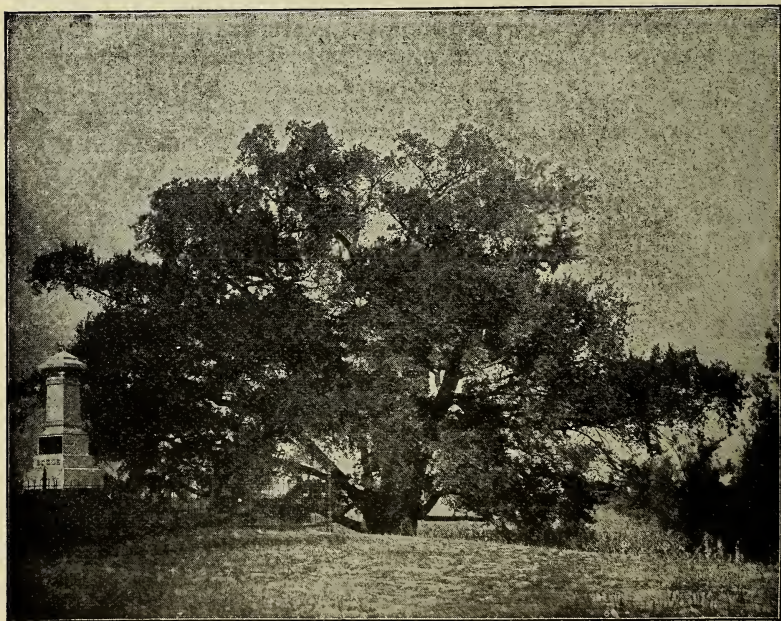
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The McGuffey Society of Columbus was organized to perpetuate the memory of Dr. William H. McGuffey. He was one of Ohio's greatest educators, but his place in history and in the affections of thousands is fixed by his famous series of Readers familiar to the present and last two generations. The officers of this Society conceived the original and unique idea of a gathering of its members and guests beneath the shadowing boughs of the historic Logan Elm, near Circleville in Pickaway County, and there with other exercises, formally read the Indian Chief Logan's speech, one of the striking features of McGuffey's Fourth Reader, of the edition of 1853. This eloquent and tragic expression of savage oratory was made imperishable in American history by Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*, and its subsequent repetition in the McGuffey's school books. So on June 24th, there assembled three hundred people to commemorate one of the most dramatic incidents of American history. From Columbus, Circleville, Chillicothe, and the surrounding country came the visitors to hear the program of the occasion. It was a faultless day, reminding one of Lowell's lines:

"And what is so rare as a day in June,  
Then, if ever, come perfect days;  
When Heaven tries the earth if it be in tune,  
And over it softly her warm ear lays."

The old Elm is still in the full vigor of robust age, for it was ancient one hundred and forty-eight years

ago when Logan by proxy made his celebrated speech to Lord Dunmore. It was one of great dignity and eloquence, and embodied his dramatic protest and bitterness against the whites for their treatment of his people. The tree is located in a park now owned by the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society,



LOGAN ELM.

who received it as a gift from the Pickaway Historical Society to forever keep fresh the memory of Logan.

Beneath its shade the following program was successfully developed:

1. "The Scioto Valley," an address by Hon. Daniel J. Ryan, of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.
2. "Logan and the Logan Elm," an address by the Hon. James E. Campbell, President of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

3. "Speech of Logan," reading by John R. Horst, of the McGuffey Society, from McGuffey's Fourth Reader, Edition of 1853.

4. Singing of Songs from the McGuffey Readers by members of the Society.

5. Short talks by residents of vicinity.

6. Picnic dinner, followed by toasts and responses from the McGuffey readers.

Mr. John F. Carlisle, the president of the McGuffey Society, in an appropriate address explained the purpose of the organization, and the object of the day's celebration, after which he introduced Judge E. E. Corn of Ironton, a member of the Society, to preside over the program as given. The exercises were commenced with an historical address by Hon. Daniel J. Ryan of Columbus, on

#### THE SCIOTO VALLEY

"Mr. Chairman, Members of the McGuffey Society, Ladies and Gentlemen:

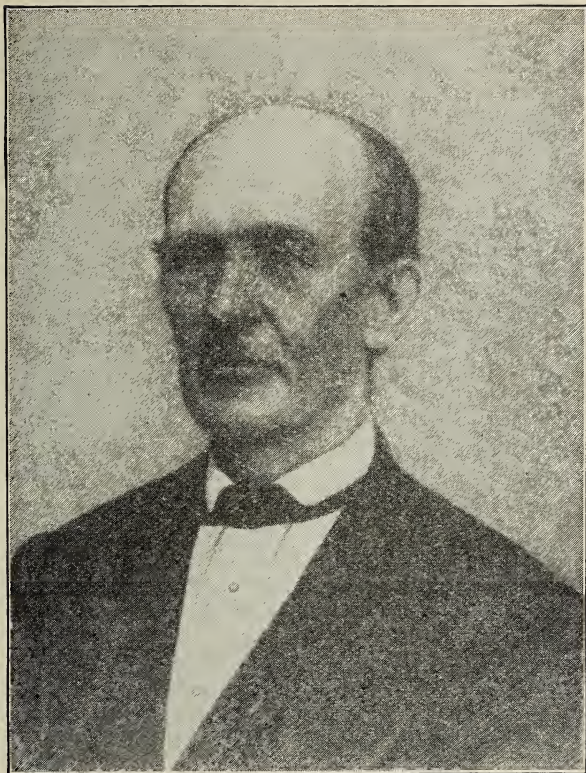
"I want to congratulate the McGuffey Society on its purpose today, and to express my admiration of its vision in preserving for this and coming generations the memory of the labors and influence of the most eminent of Ohio's educators — William H. McGuffey. If I were an orderly and obedient orator I should here proceed to commence my address on 'The Scioto Valley,' but I am loath to leave the subject of McGuffey and his work. Do you know why? The men and women here of the older generation know why; it is because the very name recalls the tenderest and most charming recollections of our lives. To us who are living in the afternoon, and who see the lengthening shadows of the departing day, how full of meaning are the words 'McGuffey's Readers!' They first came into my life over fifty years ago, and the impression they made lasts to this day. You know they were first published in 1836, and for seventy-five years were in general use in the schools of the West and South. They were more than a mere part of the school curriculum. They were an American institution. Their contents were not simply reading exercises, but they were a potential incentive to love of country, integrity, industry, tem-

perance and politeness. Millions of men and women of this and former generations can ascribe to them lasting lessons in morals and patriotism. I know I received from their pages my first appetite for literary study, for they contained the best, the most attractive and the most permanent examples of the prose and poetry of American and English literature.

"As my mind recurs to them today they bring up a flood of youthful memories. Every lesson contained a moral or gave valuable knowledge. The First Reader told of Peter Pindar the story teller; of the dogs and monks of St. Bernard; of the chimney sweep who stole a watch, but returned it and was rewarded with an education by its owner. In the Second Reader was the story of the boys who tied the grass to trip the milkmaid but upset the messenger who was running for a doctor for their father; there was the story of Washington and his hatchet, as well as that of the seeds planted by his father so as to make his name, by which his father proved to him the existence of God. When we reached the Third Reader we read the 'Conflagration of the Amphitheater at Rome' by Croly; 'How Big Was Alexander, Pa?' Woodworth's 'Old Oaken Bucket,' Scott's 'Bonaparte Crossing the Alps,' and stories about Indians and bears. Gradually leading the student to a higher class of literature, the Fourth Reader gave us William Wirt's 'Description of the Blind Preacher'; Phillip's 'Character of Napoleon'; Bacon's 'Essay on Studies'; Nott's 'Sermon on the Death of Alexander Hamilton'; Irving's 'Alhambra'; Rogers' 'Genevra'; Montgomery's 'Make Way for Liberty', and Addison's 'Westminster Abbey.' I give these subjects to illustrate the general character of the readers which advanced in style and excellence as each grade was reached. Thus through these lessons the pupils got the masterpieces of English literature and unconsciously were impressed with moral ideals, beautiful language and an incentive to pursue good living. I firmly believe that, next to the Bible, no compilation of literature of its time has had such a beneficent influence on the American youth.

"It was a happy combination of ideas that prompted the blending of historic events in this celebration. The great educator's work is reviewed today; through him every American boy and girl for a full half century became familiar with Logan and his speech. What is more practically sentimental than to meet on this spot to freshen our recollections of both? We are in a region where history was made, where from looking through the misty past we can see the shadowy but heroic characters of a time long ago. Let me review and tell you what I mean.





WILLIAM HOLMES MCGUFFEY

William Holmes McGuffey was born in Washington County, Pennsylvania, September 23, 1800, and died at Charlottesville, Virginia, May 4, 1873. When he was a mere child his father moved to Trumbull County, Ohio. Of humble birth by unusual diligence and energy he acquired the rudiments of an education and entered Washington College, Pennsylvania, from which he was graduated in March, 1826. In the same year he was elected professor of Ancient Languages in Miami University at Oxford, Ohio. In 1832 his position in that institution was changed to professor of Mental Philosophy. He was licensed as a minister of the Presbyterian Church in 1829. While at Oxford he began the preparation of the series of "readers" which were afterward published under the name of the "Eclectic Series" and which attained a wide popularity, and made his name a household word in almost every section of the United States. In 1836 he resigned his professorship at Oxford and was chosen president of the Cincinnati College. In 1839 he was elected president of the Ohio University at Athens. Four years later he returned to Cincinnati and accepted a position in Woodward College, which he held for a short time and was chosen professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Virginia in 1845. Here he continued to teach with marked success the remainder of his days. In his last illness he was engaged in the preparation of a work embracing the results of his life service. His influence in molding the lives of the large number of students who recited to him survives but greater and more enduring than this are the far reaching results of the monumental work that he did in the preparation of his famous series of readers.

"There is not in all Ohio an area more fraught with historic interest than the Scioto Valley. For centuries it has been the living place of divers races of men. Our knowledge of its history goes back to the age of fables, to the dim past of the Mound Builders, of whose existence we have a blended notion of fact and fancy. We only know from their remains that they lived. Our cognate knowledge of them is as unreliable as that of the inhabitants of Mars. But we do know that this Scioto Valley was populated by them, and was the seat of their cities, camping places, fortifications and altars. Attracted to this valley by its magnificent soil, beautiful scenery, natural resources both of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, they filled it in great numbers until driven away or scattered by the more modern American Indian. There is every reason for the conclusion that they were of the same race as their successors. Beyond this all else is conjecture or alluring speculation. They have left behind them, however, a series of remains that are at once gigantic in their construction and mysterious in their purpose.

"The Scioto Valley is a treasure house of the work of this unknown people. Commencing at Portsmouth, at the mouth of the Scioto and on each side of the river north to Columbus, their works abound in great number, greater, indeed, than in any other part of Ohio.

"It is not within my province today to enter into a discussion of the details of the archæological remains of the Scioto Valley, but I cannot refrain from referring to these works, because they are a most fascinating feature of this territory. Whether we examine the mounds at Portsmouth, or at Baum Village on Paint Creek, or the Gartner Mound, six miles north of Chillicothe, or any of the other more recent investigations, we are deeply impressed with the idea that they are evidences of a former barbaric life, which adds interest to this valley. Herein is to be found Serpent Mound, the huge earthen bas-relief representing a serpent resting his curving folds upon the summit of a bluff that rises one hundred feet above Brush Creek in Adams County. The late E. O. Randall, who made a special study of this subject of wonder, and doubtless of worship, thus describes it:

"The Serpent, beginning with its tip end starts in a triple coil of the tail on the most marked elevation of the ridge and extends along down the lowering crest in beautiful folds, curving gracefully to left and right and swerving deftly over a depression in the center of his path and winding in easy and natural convolutions down in the narrowing ledge with head and neck stretched out serpent-like and pointed to the west; the head is apparently turned upon its right side with the great mouth wide open, the extremities of the jaws, the upper or northern one being the longer,

united by a concave bank immediately in front of which is a large oval or egg-shaped hollow eighty-six feet long and thirty feet wide at its greatest inside transverse, formed by the artificial embankment from two to three feet high, and about twenty feet wide at its base. The head of the serpent across the point of union of the jaws is thirty feet wide, the jaws and connecting crescent are five feet high. The entire length of the serpent, following the convolutions, is thirteen hundred and thirty-five feet. Its width at the largest portion of the body is twenty feet. At the tail the width is no more than three feet. Here the height is from three to four feet, which increases towards the center of the body to a height of five or six feet. Such is the size of the enormous earthen reptile as it has lain, basking in the suns or shivering in the snows of many centuries.'

"If this were the only remains of the Mound Builders in the world, today it would make the Scioto Valley famous. Here truly is a great mystery of that race. We know from ethnological researches that man in his early days worshiped the trees, the sun and the stars; we know, that as he advanced he worshiped animal forms of nature, and we have gathered from the remains of Egypt and other civilizations that the serpent was to him always an object of mystery as well as fear. It has been incorporated into Genesis, and finds a place in the folk lore of all nations. It is evident that the Mound Builders had some such religious belief, which they exhibited corporeally in the great relic in Adams County.

"In the absence of any real knowledge concerning the lives and existence of the Mound Builders, they do not come within the scope of the study and investigations common to historians, but I am referring to this subject because of its connection with the Scioto Valley. Nor can I let the subject pass without referring to the work in this valley of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, of which ex-Governor Campbell is president. For years the society through its curator, Mr. W. C. Mills, has been persistent in bringing to light the hidden secrets of the mounds, the hilltop forts, the lowland enclosures, and the village sites of the Scioto Valley. The work of his able assistant, Mr. H. C. Shetrone, has been evidenced by his scholarly writings on this subject, the last of which 'The Culture Problem in Ohio Archæology,' published in the *American Anthropologist* for April-June, 1920, reflects credit upon his spirit of research, careful analysis and sound conclusion. The historical section, embracing the library, editorship of the Society's publications and the secretarial duties, are in charge of Mr. C. B. Galbreath, former State Librarian. He is a fitting successor to E. O. Randall, bringing to his labors the accomplishments of a scholar and a historian. If you would see the work of this Society, and the result of the industrious and intelligent labors of its representa-



tives, you will find them in its building on the University Campus at Columbus in the form of a well organized museum and library which, by reason of their comprehensiveness and scientific arrangement should be the pride of our state.

"The reason the Mound Builders have been thought a mysterious race is owing to the fact that we have no access to known facts concerning their existence, and this is due to the reason that they occupied this territory before the advent of the white man, and that therefore there were no witnesses to record the facts and history of their existence. Therefore, the history of the Scioto Valley commences with our knowledge of the Indian occupation.

"From time immemorial — that is, so far as the white man's knowledge goes — the Scioto Valley was the favored ground of the Shawnee Indians. They were famed for their bravery and numbers, and occupied for perhaps centuries the land along the Scioto river in their populous towns. Thus located between the Miami tribes settled on the rivers of that name, and the Delawares on the rivers of Eastern Ohio, they held sway over a little empire of their own. At first their Long House, or capitol, was situated on the west bank of the Scioto river at its confluence with the Ohio, but they were driven by floods to locate this council house directly opposite, in Kentucky. The Shawnees were of Algonquin stock; the Iroquois called them *Satanas*; the French called them *Chaouanons*; they were known to the English as *Shawanos* and *Shawnees*. They were ferocious, and in the sixteen hundreds they were scattered all over the country. When John Smith landed on the banks of the James, he was met by the Shawnees; when LaSalle came into this country in 1669 they were on the upper Ohio. About 1680 the Five Nations drove them to the Scioto Valley, and in this elysium of natural bliss they wrested from bounteous nature all that the forest and chase could yield. The very beauty and richness of the land made them guard it with such jealous spirit that when Nathaniel Massie entered it, it was a great and expansive territory of danger and death to the white man. They were a restless crowd, averse to the pursuits of agriculture and given entirely to war and the chase. They were courageous, powerful and faithless. They had a great idea of their own importance, and in their egotism they gave themselves a prominence not only over other tribes but also over the whites. Listen to what a Shawnee chief said at a treaty convention held at Ft. Wayne in 1803:

"*'The Master of Life,'* said he, *'who was himself an Indian, made the Shawnees before any other of the human race; and they sprang from his brain; he gave them all the knowledge he himself possessed, and placed*



them upon the great island, and all the other red people are descended from the Shawnees. After he made the Shawnees he made the French and English out of his breast, the Dutch out of his feet, and the Americans out of his hands. All these inferior races of men he made white and placed them beyond the stinking lake.'

"The historian must concede that the estimate which the Shawnees placed upon themselves was, in a large measure, justified by the bold part they played in the Scioto Valley. Cornstalk, the chief leader of the Dunmore War, was a Shawnee. He fought heroically at Point Pleasant and made a masterly retreat to the Pickaway Plains to conclude a Treaty of Peace near where we are now assembled. Logan, the hero of today, was a Shawnee, and chief of the subordinate tribe of Mingoos. Blue Jacket was another Shawnee warrior of dignity and bravery, and was present at the Treaty of Greenville in 1795.

"When Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, both Shawnees, commenced their hostile operations against the United States, Black Hoof resisted all their conspiracies until finally he was swept into the mighty conflict. The High Horn, generally known as Captain Logan, not the Mingo chief, was also a Shawnee chief, who was always friendly with the whites, and in the War of 1812 rendered substantial assistance to the Americans. The name of the Shawnees will be forever perpetuated by the two greatest characters of that tribe, Tecumseh and the Prophet. The latter led the Indians of the Northwest with great ferocity against the Americans, only to be defeated by General William Henry Harrison at Tippecanoe. His brother, Tecumseh, likewise led his people against the Americans in the War of 1812 at the Battle of the Thames, where he met his death.

"This was the formidable inhabitant of the Scioto Valley when the white man first penetrated its beautiful territory. The men who first came to the Scioto Valley were a wandering set, representing nothing but themselves, and few in number. They were traders, they came to deal with the Indians, and were only tolerated because they had something to arouse or allay either the Indian appetite or curiosity. These traders, the lawless set, came partly from Virginia, but mainly from Pennsylvania. In a letter dated May 21, 1753, Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, wrote to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania: 'They appear to me to be in general a set of abandoned wretches.' Hamilton's idea of the traders was the same, for he replied to this letter by saying: 'I concur with you in opinion that they are a very licentious people.' Some of these traders located at the mouth of the Scioto at what was known as Lower Shawneetown. Others were at Old Chillicothe, not the present town, but where

subsequently Westfall was located, in what used to be known as Darby Plains. It is proper to say, however, that there were among this class some men of high character, who did much to promote peace between the white men and the Indians, as well as to give us a great amount of information concerning their conditions of life. Among these may be mentioned Christopher Gist, William Trent and George Crogan.

"Thus in the middle of the seventeenth century we find the Scioto Valley in control of the Shawnee Indians, and a few traders here and there located among them. Then came the struggle between English and French as to sovereignty over the great western country; to determine which should rule—the Gaul or Saxon. These traders, worthless as they were, were the innocent cause of the settlement of this question. They were all English, and their presence soon came to the knowledge of the French at Quebec. France claimed the territory in which the English traders were planting the seeds of discontent among the Indians, and who were, in an innocent way, representing English sovereignty. At this time the Marquis de La Galissoniere ruled over Canada. He thought something must be done to assert France's sovereignty, to drive back the intruders and to protect French rights in the valley of Ohio. Therefore in the summer of 1749 the Governor sent Celeron de Bienville to take possession of the territory of the Ohio in the name of his king. He did this in a distinctly dramatic and Latin way. Traveling from Canada to the head of the Ohio, he proceeded down the Ohio river and stopped at the mouth of each of the rivers emptying into it; at all of these places, with the exception of the Scioto, he distributed gifts among the Indians, buried a leaden plate asserting the sovereignty of Louis XV, King of France, and then proceeded to the next river mouth. He did this at the mouth of Wheeling Creek and also at the Muskingum, and at the mouth of the Great Kanawha. On the 22nd of August he approached the mouth of the Scioto, which they called St. Yotock or Sinyoto. Here they found a large Shawnee town and met with resistance. When they came near the mouth of the Scioto the Indians swarmed to the shore. 'They fired,' says Celeron; 'there were a thousand shots; for the English gave them powder for nothing.' He was reluctantly received by the Indians, who, he learned, had secretly planned to destroy him and his followers. He notified them that he knew of the plot and was ready to give battle. His stern attitude overawed them, and they resorted to diplomacy and apologetic words which scarcely concealed their hostile designs. There was, therefore, one spot in his long meanderings that manifested a disposition

to refuse acknowledgment of the French king, and that was the entrance to the Scioto Valley.

"The action of the French attracted the attention of the English, and in September, 1750, Christopher Gist was sent out into this territory 'to search out and discover lands.' Gist has left behind a journal, very thorough and intelligent. He arrived at the mouth of the Scioto river on Tuesday, January 29, 1751, and here is what he says concerning this place: 'The land about the mouth of the Sciotoe creek is rich, but broken; fine bottoms up the river and creek. The Shanonah Town is situated upon both sides of the river Ohio just below the mouth of the Sciotoe creek, and contains about three hundred men. There are about 40 houses on the south side of the river and about 100 on the north side, with a kind of state house of about ninety feet long, with sides covered with bark, in which they hold their councils.' Gist was very successful in dealing with the Indians. He remained here until the 12th of February, thoroughly observed their lives, and gives in his journal interesting details concerning their customs and habits. He says that notwithstanding the Celeron expedition had ordered all traders to depart, they were still there and English control was asserted with that success which subsequent history records.

"For nearly half a century after this the Scioto valley remained the happy hunting grounds of the Shawnees. The visits of the white man were infrequent, and it was not until the creation of the American Republic that it really became open to settlement. For many years it was a part of the great domain reserved by Virginia for the use and settlement of her loyal sons that served in the War for Independence. Chillicothe, the town that we know today, was the point that attracted emigration from Virginia. The influx of settlers commenced as soon as the town was laid out, and even before the winter of 1796 it had a tavern and stores and shops and mechanics. The influence of civilized life soon began to prevail, and within a few years it was a substantial town in full operation with a population of one thousand. In the spring of 1798 there came to Chillicothe from Berkeley County, Virginia, one whose life and actions influenced the history of Ohio in a greater degree than that of any other man. This was Edward Tiffin. He brought with him a flattering letter from George Washington, dated January 4, 1798, and addressed to Governor St. Clair. From his entrance into the valley there dates a new and potent influence in the history of Ohio. It would take too long to recite it here. The conversion of a wilderness into a garden; the invasion of the Virginians; the overthrow of the great Arthur St.

Clair; the struggle for statehood; the victory of the people over the political aristocracy; the framing of a constitution for a people without their consent; were all events that form a background of a picture that has no parallel in American history, and all these scenes were enacted in the Scioto Valley. The only weapons were tongues and pens, but they were directed by men who for brains and bravery were worthy of every honor and respect that the people of Ohio can bestow upon them.

"A study of the history of the Scioto Valley from a political standpoint forces one to the conclusion that the men who settled it, and who were active in its affairs for half a century after, exercised more influence upon Ohio than any other class of immigrants in her history. I am fully aware of the intelligent influence of the settlers of the Western Reserve, and desire to give full credit to the patriotic pioneers of Marietta, but all these men were passive settlers. They seemed to give their whole attention to developing themselves and their own localities. But the Virginians who came into the Scioto Valley in 1798 and the years following, brought with them the principles of Jeffersonian democracy which they were not content to conserve for their own practice and advantage, but they insisted upon giving these principles to the people at large. Marietta was naturally conservative, and opposed to statehood. The Western Reserve did the same thing. Indeed, they went so far as to claim, even after Ohio was erected into a territory that their loyalty was not to Ohio but to Connecticut, and many of their leaders insisted that they should have a representative in the Connecticut General Court, and not in the Territorial General Assembly. That Ohio took her place in the sisterhood of the states is due to the influence and the power of the Virginians of the Scioto Valley; that the common school system of Ohio was established is due to the fertile brain and untiring efforts of Caleb Atwater, of Circleville, who struggled for years to secure from the General Assembly of Ohio the legislation necessary to establish our present school system.

"I close as I began, with the statement that there is not in all Ohio a territory more fraught with historic interest than this valley. If we want to study its romance and mystery, we have but to turn to the era of the Mound Builders; if we would know its thrilling past we can find it in the history of the Shawnees; or where can a lesson be found that appeals more to one's sense of the great tragedies of history than the conflict between France and Great Britain for this territory; and the climax of human endeavor is reached when we think of the struggle and



accomplishments of the Americans who came here, and out of a wilderness carved a commonwealth!"

Following this came the illuminative and interesting address by former Governor James E. Campbell, President of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, entitled:

## LOGAN AND THE LOGAN ELM

*"Ladies and Gentlemen:*

"Logan, whose Indian name was Tah-gah-jute, was the chief of the small tribe of Indians known as the Mingos.\* In his early life, before he succumbed to the excessive use of the fire-water of the palefaces, he was unusually handsome and attractive. He stood well over six feet; had a dignified bearing, a benign countenance and a fine disposition; and was especially noted for his friendly relations with white people. In April, 1774, a party of white men, headed by Michael Cresap, started out with the avowed intention of attacking Logan and his family. On the way, however, Cresap, who felt that Logan was not guilty of the offense for which they were about to punish him, persuaded his command to return to their homes. A few days

\*Robert Thackleton in his *Book of Philadelphia* says in regard to "Stenton," the old colonial house just below Wayne Junction and its owner James Logan:

"*Stenton*, a mansion put up about 1728 by James Logan, a scholar, a philosopher, a man of affairs, the secretary of William Penn, and afterwards personal representative of Penn himself and the Penn family, and Chief Justice of the Colony. A very important man indeed was Logan, and liked and trusted by all who knew him. He was a friend of Franklin."

Here follows a description of the house. He continues:

"A great chief came eastward from the Ohio country, Wingohocking, and he visited here the powerful Logan, Secretary of the Colony and known to be a friend of the Indians; and Logan and he, in Indian fashion, exchanged names, that of Logan being given to the stripling son of Wingohocking, and the name of Wingohocking being given to a little stream near Stenton, with the idea that, as Logan expressed it, 'Long after we have passed away it shall still flow and bear thy name.' The name is still known in Germantown as that of the little stream and that of a railroad station; and as to the stripling, henceforth known as Logan, he rose to great fame in the region of the Ohio, as both statesman and warrior, and a speech which he delivered at a council has been rated by no less an authority than Thomas Jefferson, as among the great speeches of the world."

[This note was received from Mrs. O. D. Dryer. — ED.]

later another band of whites, led by a man named Greathouse, cruelly massacred some Indians, men, women and children, near the mouth of Yellow Creek at a point on the south bank of the Ohio River opposite Logan's home. Only one person, a baby, was spared in this treacherous attack. One of the murdered women was the sister of Logan. He resented this outrage and started out to obtain revenge. His whole nature was changed; he became vicious and blood-thirsty and wreaked indiscriminate vengeance upon the whites. It is said that he caused the death of thirty whites. A letter from Arthur St. Clair (afterwards the first Governor of the Northwest Territory) written on June 22 states that Logan had returned with one prisoner and thirteen scalps. In July he saved the life of a white man named Robinson and, a few days after, brought Robinson a piece of paper. He made a black fluid of water and gunpowder and commanded Robinson to write a note upon the paper which read as follows:

“Captain Cresap,

‘What did you kill my people on Yellow Creek for? The white people killed my kin at Conestoga, a great while ago, and I thought nothing of that. But you killed my kin again on Yellow Creek, and took my cousin prisoner. Then I thought I must kill too; and I have been three times to war since; but the Indians are not angry, only myself.

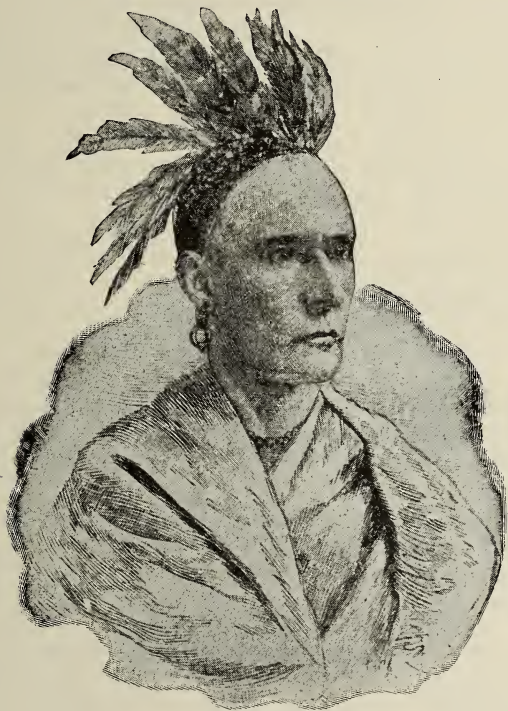
‘Captain John Logan.

‘July 21st, 1774.’”

“Every member of the family of a white man, named John Roberts, was cruelly assassinated soon after. A war club was deposited in the house of this family, and the foregoing note was attached to it. It was the first deliberate complaint made by Logan against Michael Cresap. Michael Cresap had nothing whatever to do with the massacre in which Logan's sister was killed, but Logan believed him to be guilty and disseminated that belief far and wide. So thoroughly was it inculcated among the Indians that, when an Indian woman wished to quiet her child, she threatend it with Cresap.

“Six months after the Yellow Creek massacre Logan gave utterance to his famous speech which will be referred to later in this address. During these six months much had occurred which it is necessary to know in order to understand the situation, and which will here be briefly recited. The Indian tribes in Ohio and the western part of Pennsylvania and Virginia, at the instigation of Cornstalk, an able, aggressive and valiant chief of the Shawnees, had formed a great confederation for the purpose of exterminating or driving out the white settlers. At that time the Earl of Dunmore, a very arbitrary, stubborn and high-handed ruler, had long been the royal Governor of the Colony

of Virginia. He was zealously loyal to the mother country from which the thirteen colonies were threatening to revolt, but was also anxious to protect his own colony against the Indians. In April, 1774, aroused by the action of Cornstalk, he began preparations for an invasion of the Indian country. A few months later two armies were started westward — one under command of Dunmore himself and the other under command of General Andrew Lewis, but subordinate to Dunmore. Lewis was not



LOGAN, THE MINGO.

only hostile to the Indians but his men, who were brave and hardy pioneers, were enthusiastic in the cause. Dunmore was suspected of not wishing to fight the Indians as much as he was to overawe them and make a treaty with them, thereby keeping them in a frame of mind to be friendly with the mother country in case of a war with the colonies. In October the army of Dunmore was on the north side of the river and the army of Lewis was on the south side. Dunmore ordered Lewis to

join him. Lewis, however, was on the track of Cornstalk and intended to fight him. He was a true American, a noted and experienced soldier and ready to fight either the Indians or the British, or both, whenever it became necessary. He evaded the order from Dunmore and fought Cornstalk at Point Pleasant, Virginia. He won a great victory in the bloodiest, fiercest and most important battle in the annals of Indian warfare. Randall and Ryan in their *History of Ohio*, say that

“The battle of Point Pleasant was the most extensive, the most bitterly contested, and fought with the most potent results of any Indian battle in American history. At the time it occurred it aroused world-wide interest. Not only English papers in the mother country but French and German newspapers published extensive articles descriptive of the battle.”

“Colonel John Stuart, in his *Historical Memoirs* says: ‘This battle was, in fact, the beginning of the Revolutionary war.’ Theodore Roosevelt, in the *Winning of the West*, says of this war that

“It was of the greatest advantage to the American cause; for it kept the northwestern Indians off our hands for the first two years of the Revolutionary struggle.”

“Randall and Ryan also say most cogently:

“The fate of the Northwest Territory was at stake in that battle though no British soldier participated therein. Surely America has no more historic soil than the ground of the Kanawha and Ohio point redened that October day by the blood of savage warriors and frontier woodsmen.”

“Immediately after the battle Lewis marched his army up into the Scioto region against the desire of Dunmore who was then engaged in an attempt to negotiate a treaty with the Indians. Logan was not present at the battle of Point Pleasant but Michael Cresap was. Although Cresap was not a Virginian but a citizen of Maryland, he was appointed a captain by Dunmore who solicited him to serve with the Virginia troops because of his high reputation as a soldier. Soon after this battle Cresap returned to his home, but the next spring he raised and commanded the first company which was sent from the South to join General Washington at Cambridge. He stood high in the councils of Washington and was promoted to Colonel. He died in the service, and his remains lie in Trinity churchyard at New York amid those of many other revolutionary patriots. Dunmore, soon after the battle, moved his army to Camp Charlotte, a few miles from where we are now assembled. He had already notified Lewis through two messengers; one was the celebrated fighter, Simon Kenton, and the other was the



notorious Simon Girty who afterwards deserted to the Indians and became the most detestable renegade known to the settlements of this state. Dunmore succeeded in persuading Cornstalk and all of his associated chiefs, except Logan, to meet him and enter into a treaty of peace. The treaty was taken back, in Dunmore's saddlebags, to Williamsburg, then the capital of Virginia; but the Revolutionary war was impending and Dunmore was engaged in a controversy with the Virginia patriots which ended in his expulsion from the country. In this turmoil the treaty was mislaid.

"Dunmore had been very anxious to include Logan in the signatories to the treaty and sent General Gibson to try to persuade him to appear at the council. Gibson was the reputed father of the baby saved at the massacre of Yellow Creek, and it was thought that he might be able to influence him. Logan refused to attend the meeting and, in an explosion of grief and anger, burst into tears and uttered the following piece of impassioned eloquence which has become so famous:

"I appeal to any white man to say if he ever entered Logan's cabin hungry and he gave him not meat; if he ever came cold and naked and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites that my countrymen pointed as they passed and said, 'Logan is the friend of the white man.' I had even thought to have lived with you but for injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, last spring, in cold blood and unprovoked, murdered all relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace; but do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one.'

"Logan spoke excellent English, and spoke it readily; and Gibson declared that he committed Logan's exact language to paper immediately thereafter; that he delivered it to Lord Dunmore and that the copy published in Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia* was true and accurate. Archibald Loudon, in his *Narratives of Indians and Their Wars*, says:

"It was known to the camp where it was delivered; was given out by Lord Dunmore and his officers; ran through the public papers of the states; was rehearsed as an exercise at school; published in the papers and periodical works of Europe, and all this a dozen years before it was copied in the *Notes on Virginia*.

"These facts, however, did not deter Luther Martin, a son-in-law of Michael Cresap, from charging that Jefferson forged the speech in order to besmirch Cresap. This accusation was

made because Martin was a Federalist and Jefferson a Democrat—such was the unparalleled malignity of partisan warfare in that day. Luther Martin was the greatest lawyer of his time and the only extenuation for his conduct is that he was not only devoted to law but also to the spirits—the kind that, at the present time, are under a cloud owing to the provisions of the Volstead Law.

“Logan’s speech contains many misstatements. Cresap did not murder any of Logan’s family. Nobody murdered his children because he never had any. It was not true that none of his blood ran in any living creature, for he met his death many years after at the hands of his nephew. To the marvelous eloquence of this utterance too much praise cannot be given. Logan was an untutored savage, and yet this specimen of his oratory has immortalized him. It has been the subject of the highest commendation. Jefferson said:

“‘I may challenge the whole orations of Demosthenes and Cicero, and of any more eminent orator if Europe has furnished any more eminent, to produce a single passage superior to this speech of Logan, a Mingo chief.’

“Roosevelt pronounced this speech to be one

“‘Which will always retain its place as perhaps the finest outburst of savage eloquence of which we have any authentic record.’

“Randall and Ryan’s History quotes the following from the pen of Alfred Lee:

“‘Taken in connection with the circumstances which are said to have inspired it, this is one of the most pathetic deliverances in all literature. In brevity, simplicity and directness of appeal, as well as in the immortality of its thought, it bears a striking resemblance to Abraham Lincoln’s dedicatory address at Gettysburg.’

“The names of twenty white men who participated in Dunmore’s treaty appear upon the tablet here. Much credit is due to Mr. Frank Tallmadge for his research in ascertaining so many names at the time the tablet was erected. Since then Thwaites and Kellogg have published *The Documentary History of Dunmore’s War* and their labor has resulted in securing the names of forty-one more who were present. The following is an alphabetical list of entire sixty-one: Barret, Col. L.; Bonney, Lewis; Bowman, Joseph; Brinton, Henry; Brinton, James; Brown, Colman; Caldwell, John; Caldwell, William; Clark, Gen. George R.; Cox, Lieut. Gabriel; Cox, George; Crawford, Col. William; Cresap, Daniel, Jr.; Cresap, Capt. Michael; Cresap, Lieut. J.; Cresap, Lieut. Michael, Jr.; Drennon, Jacob; Gibson,

Gen. John; Girty, Simon; Haggerty, Patrick; Hardin, John, Jr.; Harrison, Lieut. John; Harrod, Capt. William; Heath, Lieut. William; Hedges, Silas; Henshaw, Capt. William; Helm, Leonard; Helphinstone, Capt. Peter; Hoagland, Henry; Hoffman, John; Johnson, Capt.; Kenton, Simon; Linn, William; McNeill, Daniel; Mitchell, Captain; Moody, John; Morgan, Daniel; Morris, William; Murphy, Capt.; Neaville, John; Neaville, Joseph; Ogle, William; Parchment, Peter; Parsons, Capt. James; Ravenscroft, Thomas; Rogers, David; Scott, Capt. David; Stephenson, Capt. Hugh; Sullivan, James; Tomlinson, Benjamin; Trabeu, Lieut. James; Vallandigham, George; Wells, Samuel; Wetzels, John; Wetzels, Martin; Williams, Isaac; Williamson, Capt. David; Wilson, Col. Benjamin; Wilson, Capt. John; Wood, Governor James; Zane, Ebenezer.

"This tree has been known for one hundred and fifty years as 'The Logan Elm' and so it will be known until its decay. Let us hope that unavoidable consummation may be long delayed. It may be of interest to read here the following appropriate tribute which was written by an unknown visitor upon the fly leaf of the register kept in the little shelter house yonder, on June 9, 1921.

"The Logan Elm looked better, foliage greener and apparently in better shape than it has been for years. Withstood the storm of June 3, 1921, when its limbs whipped the ground and when it seemed that every minute it would go over, but nature did its work so well that I am more confident than ever that it will, with continued care, remain in all its splendor to greet future generations.

"And may it stand as a monument to those who through tireless efforts and persistence have brought it from a wilderness to surroundings of beauty where we, the masses may come to worship the Dean of the forest."

"A fitting conclusion for these remarks are the following lines from Joyce Kilmer:

"I think that I shall never see  
A poem lovely as a tree;

A tree whose hungry mouth is prest  
Against the earth's sweet flowing breast;

A tree that looks at God all day  
And lifts her leafy arms to pray;

A tree that may in summer wear  
A nest of robins in her hair;

Upon whose bosom snow has lain;  
Who intimately lives with rain.

Poems are made by fools like me,  
But only God can make a tree.'"

After the formal reading of Logan's Speech by John R. Horst from McGuffey's Fourth Reader (edition of 1853), informal addresses were made by J. W. Johnson of Circleville, editor of the *Democrat and Watchman*, Professor C. C. Miller of Lancaster and Mrs. Orson D. Dryer of Shepard, Ohio. Mrs. Dryer's contribution to the day's celebration was extremely valuable from an historical standpoint, and as the sole representative present of the Colonial troops which accompanied Lord Dunmore's army, the story of her distinguished ancestor was full of historical information. Mrs. Dryer has been, and is, among the women of Columbus foremost in religious, civic, and patriotic work of that city. She has been active in the affairs of the League of Women Voters, Young Women's Christian Association, and is at present Vice-Regent of the Columbus Chapter of the D. A. R., and President of the Columbus Presbyterial Society. Her address follows:

"Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am the great-granddaughter of Colonel Benjamin Wilson, whose name is graven on yonder bronze tablet, and who was aide-de-camp to Lord Dunmore in his march to this place against Cornstalk, the Shawnee. Colonel Wilson was a witness to all that this day commemorates.

"In order that you may understand my relationship to him, I will state that I am the daughter of Henrietta Wilson and William C. Maholm; Henrietta Wilson was the daughter of Daniel Davisson Wilson, who was the son of Colonel Benjamin Wilson. Daniel Davisson Wilson, my grandfather, came to Ohio when my mother was an infant, carrying her in front of him on



horseback. He located on land belonging to his father near Newark, Ohio. Now a word as to Colonel Wilson's own ancestors, and I will tell you of the part he played in the pioneer life of this county.

"The Wilson family is traced through Ireland to Scotland, and the early records show that the name was prominent in the troublous times in Scotland, nearly two centuries ago. One of the ancestors of Colonel Benjamin Wilson, named David, took part in the Scotch Rebellion of 1715, and when it was put down, he, with many other unfortunates, had to leave his native land, and fled to the province of Ulster in Ireland. He had a son William, born in Ireland in 1722, who came to America in 1736, and after his arrival married Elizabeth Blackburn. Of that marriage eleven children were born, Benjamin being the oldest, who was born in Shenandoah County, Virginia, November 30, 1747, living in Virginia all his life. He is buried in Harrison County, West Virginia, where he lived, and died at the age of eighty years, on the 2nd of January, 1827. Benjamin Wilson had the blessing of gentle and Christian parentage, and more than a fair share of education for those early days. He evinced strong traits of character, a progressive spirit and love of freedom, which left a lasting impression on the history of Virginia.

"He was a soldier of the Virginia militia, and as a captain he attracted the attention of Lord Dunmore, who attached him to his staff as aide-de-camp. He was present at the signing of the treaty, and by reason of his confidential relationship to his commander, necessarily participated in all the important events of that occasion, including the reception of Logan's speech by Lord Dunmore. While here Colonel Wilson took a branch from this elm, out of which he made a cane, which has been in possession of our family ever since. After the treaty was signed, and peace was declared, the two armies, Lord Dunmore's and Colonel Lewis's, left for home. Lord Dunmore's troops under Colonel Wilson took the southern route, and on the journey home a remarkable thing occurred. It will be remembered that at this time the colonies, though not independent, were tending towards revolution. The Continental Congress was in session at Philadelphia at the time Colonel Wilson and his little army of Americans arrived at Fort Gower on the Ohio River at the mouth of the Hockhocking. This was the 5th of November, 1774. The soldiers heard of what was going on in the East. While they were under the command of Lord Dunmore, a royal Governor, they were not afraid to let the country know that neither a royal governor nor any one else could swerve them from their duty as patriots and lovers of liberty. So they

held a meeting and passed resolutions declaring that while they were loyal to the king, 'the love of liberty and attachment to the real interests and just rights of America outweigh every other consideration; we resolve that we will exert every power within us for the defense of American liberty, not in any precipitate, riotous or tumultuous manner, but when regularly called forth by the unanimous voice of our countrymen.' This resolution favoring American sovereignty was passed by Virginia militiamen on Ohio soil nearly eighteen months before the Declaration of Independence.

"In passing through the Tygart Valley, Colonel Wilson was so attracted by the great beauty and resources of the section, that he purchased of several settlers their 'tomahawk rights,' there making a home between Beverly and Elkins on Wilson Creek, and there built a fort and a large mill. The strong dam of walnut logs is still standing, and the homestead has never been out of the family, the well being still in use.

"Early in the Revolutionary War, Colonel Wilson was appointed to a captaincy in the Virginia forces, doing duty on the frontier. On him officially rested the protection of all the settlers, this being the marauding territory of the Indians, acting under the English and French. The title of Colonel was conferred upon him in 1781.

"At the age of twenty-three he married Ann Rudell, aged sixteen, and was living on the Tygart Valley farm in the late fall of 1777, when he received word that Indians had broken into a settlement near the Wilson plantation and murdered a family by the name of Connelly. He with thirty men hurried in pursuit. Colonel Wilson owned a farm west of the river as well as a farm east of the river on Wilson's Creek, where his fort stood, four miles north of Beverly. At the time of the Indian raid his family were living in a cabin west of the river, about two miles distant, temporarily, while the men were busy gathering their corn crop. When he went up the river in pursuit of the Indians he left his wife and three children at the cabin, with a slave named Rose, a Guinea negress, whom he had bought. She was born in Africa and brought over in a slave ship. The three children were Mary aged six, William B. aged four and Stephen aged two.

"Late in the afternoon while Mrs. Wilson and Rose were milking the cows, a young horse came dashing up from the range with wild excitement. Mrs. Wilson cried to Rose, 'There are Indians near! The horse has seen them. That is the way he acts when he sees Indians. Catch him quick, we must fly to the fort or we will be massacred!' While Rose was catching the

horse Mrs. Wilson with wonderful coolness and presence of mind, took one of her strong petticoats, tied both ends, put the two older children in it, with their heads out, and threw the petticoat across the horse's back like a saddlebag. Then with the baby in her arms she mounted the horse bareback and told Rose to run for her life and cross the river on the foot log. She gave the rein to the horse which was snorting and prancing as though it could see or smell the Indians. The horse was apparently as eager to escape as she was, and went at full speed toward the fort. The river was past fording on account of rain and melting snow, but it was a matter of life and death, and she with her precious burden did not halt, but plunged in and swam the horse for the other side. When in mid-stream she discovered the child on the up stream side, Mary, had struggled from the sack and was bobbing up and down against the horse's side, held there by the strong current. Mrs. Wilson caught her by the clothes and brought her safe to shore. Then re-adjusting the children in the bag, she rode with them to the fort. By this time the alarm had been given, and several families had arrived. The Indians plundered the settlement west of the river, and it is probable that Mrs. Wilson and her children would have been murdered in a few minutes had she not made her escape when she did.

"A few minutes after Mrs. Wilson reached the fort, Rose put in an appearance carrying a churn of cream on her head and remarking, 'I did not mean that the Redskins should have this cream.'

"Ten years later when she was not yet sixteen years old, Mary Wilson, who so narrowly escaped both from the Indians and drowning, became the wife of Colonel John Haymond, of Harrison County, a noted Indian fighter as well as a prominent business man, who served both in the Assembly and Senate of Virginia. The marriage of John Haymond and Mary Wilson was a notable event in the early social affairs of Randolph County. The groom came from Clarksburg, accompanied by a cavalcade of young people of both sexes. The first night out from Clarksburg, there being no houses along the way, the company camped under a cliff of rocks a short distance east of where Phillippi now stands.

"The first playground in America was deeded by Colonel Wilson to the town of Beverly, Virginia (now West Virginia), and the deed still stands on record in the court house. At one time the town tried to get possession of this playground to build the court house upon it, but found that if it was used for any other purpose than a playground the property would revert to

the heirs of Colonel Wilson. A very interesting story is told by the old settlers of how he procured this lot in the heart of Beverly. A blacksmith shop stood upon this playground, and when Colonel Wilson was passing one day he stopped to watch some men pitching horseshoes. They urged him to join them, and when he refused, the owner of the lot and blacksmith shop, who was considered the champion horseshoe pitcher, said, if Colonel Wilson could beat him at the game he would give him the lot. Thereupon Colonel Wilson played and won. Being a surveyor, he immediately 'stepped off' the lot, went to the court house and deeded it to the town of Beverly, forever to be used for a playground. The 'John Hart' Chapter D. A. R. will in time beautify it.

"Upon the Declaration of Independence, Colonel Benjamin Wilson became the military commander of the district west of the Allegheny Mountains, and through him all the military and civil business was transacted.

"At the first court held in Harrison County, by authority of the Governor, in 1784, Benjamin Wilson was appointed county clerk, which office he held for thirty years, and upon retiring he was succeeded by his son John, who held the office for fourteen years more. After his removal to his home in Harrison County, he gave his attention not only to his office and the clearing and developing of his large landed estate, but also engaged in business transactions of various kinds. He established a grist and a saw mill, that the people might grind the corn instead of parching and crushing it between stones as formerly, and sawed timber in place of hewing it with an axe. Then, in order to use the raw material so abundant, he added to his other mills a machine for carding wool, so that soon in the pioneer homes spinning and weaving could be done. The long distance from the seaboard rendered it very difficult to get cloth for wearing apparel, etc. There was sore need for a factory to make these goods. He sent to Scotland, the land of his kindred, and secured Mr. Wiley, a practical factory weaver, and through him purchased looms and other machinery for making cloth, which was done at his mill on Simpson Creek, to which place the people brought their wool where it was converted into cloth, colored, stretched and ready to use.

"Realizing the need of higher education, Colonel Wilson and his associates applied to the General Assembly for a charter for the Randolph Academy, at Clarksburg, which was granted in 1787. Eight years later the Academy doors were opened under the auspices of Reverend George Towers, a Presbyterian minister and graduate of Oxford, England, who was brought



here by these gentlemen for this purpose. The opening address was made by Colonel Wilson, which can be found in Colonel Henry Haymond's *History of Harrison County*. He was responsible for Withers' *Border Warfare*, which was written upon his solicitation. He went to Alexandria, Virginia, Mr. Withers' home, and induced the author to undertake this important literary work, which he did; it was written at Colonel Wilson's in Harrison County, where Mr. Withers spent two years.

"Colonel Wilson was not paid for his services in the federal army, nor for having equipped his own regiment, but for services rendered he received a grant of four thousand acres of land in Licking County, Ohio.

"Attached to his log house he built a vaulted courtroom, in which was held the first session of court in Harrison County, he having been appointed justice of the peace by the Governor of Virginia. At that time the justices of the peace were almost the only political power. He represented Harrison, Monongahela, and Randolph Counties in the Legislature for several sessions, and he and his brother John were delegates in the convention of Virginia which ratified the Constitution of the United States.

"Colonel William Stansbury, an eminent lawyer and jurist of Ohio, said, in speaking of Colonel Wilson, 'He was the purest type of the old school Virginia gentlemen, handsome in appearance, of cultivated speech and manner, and much like Washington in bearing.' Nor was he unmindful of the claims of religion. He maintained to the close of his life an irreproachable Christian character. He had been married twice, his second wife being Phoebe Davisson. He had by the two marriages twenty-eight children, of whom twenty-four were living at the time of his death, and for all of whom he was enabled to make a moderate provision. His posterity at the time of his death besides his twenty-four children was seventy-three grandchildren, thirty-two great-grandchildren and one great-great-grandchild."

The day's exercises, which were in charge of a committee consisting of John R. Horst, Miss Bertha Peeling and C. B. Shook, closed with the singing of America.

## MARION CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

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BY J. WILBUR JACOBY

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### OUTLINE OF HISTORY OF MARION COUNTY

In this centenary year for the city of Marion, it is not inappropriate to preface this article with a brief outline of the history of Marion County. Marion County was named after the famous Revolutionary General, Francis Marion, and attached to Delaware County by act of February 20, 1820. For more than twenty-five years thereafter the southern limit of the county was the Greenville treaty line. This treaty signed with the Indians in 1795 held back all but "squatter settlements" to the north thereof for almost a generation.

On August 15, 1820, the first tracts of land in the county north of the Greenville treaty line were offered for sale. From that time on, a steady stream of immigrants flowed hither into every part of the county. They came from the older counties to the south; from Kentucky and Virginia; from the New England States and New York; from far-off Maine came the founder of Marion; lastly and most numerous they came from Pennsylvania — plain, simple, Dutch stock, young and vigorous, to hew a future home out of the virgin forest. Thus while the northeast part of our state was settled by Yankees; the southeast by the Massachusetts soldiers of the Revolution; the Virginia Military lands of

the Scioto and Miami valleys, by the aristocracy of Virginia; and the northwestern part by the Germans, Marion County has, because of location and in the ripeness of time, drawn the best from every quarter of our State and Nation.

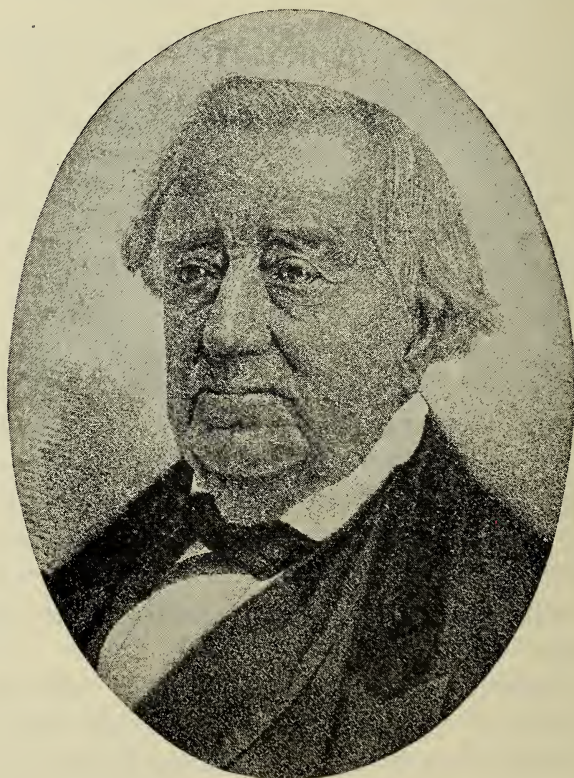
The first settlers in the county were almost all native-born Americans. Beginning with 1830, immigration began from Germany, continuing in large numbers from 1840 to 1850, many having taken part in the Revolutionary movements in Germany. During the decade from 1850 to 1860 large numbers began to arrive from Ireland. This desirable addition to our citizenship continued for three decades.

In a large sense, it was for the purpose of commemorating these pioneer movements that the Marion Centennial had its inception. It was not with the idle thought of passing a few days in sport and carnival, but rather to pause for a brief time, hat in hand as it were, reverently to give thanks for the blessings that have flowed from one hundred years of development, and to gather new inspiration for the intricate tasks of the morrow.

The founder of Marion, Eber Baker, was born in Maine, April 27, 1780. At the opening of the War of 1812, he enlisted in the army, but being dissatisfied with the inactivity of guard and camp duty to which his regiment was assigned, he employed a substitute and resigned. In the early part of 1813 he decided to go West, outfitted at Boston, and traveled in covered wagons to Wheeling, West Virginia, where he occupied a farm for a year, then moved to Newark, Ohio, arriving there in 1814. After a few years he started on a prospecting tour, and found a deserted long cabin

sheltered under the slope of a hill, afterwards known as the "Hollow." He purchased the land from Hezekiah Kilbourne.

On April 3, 1822, a little more than one year after

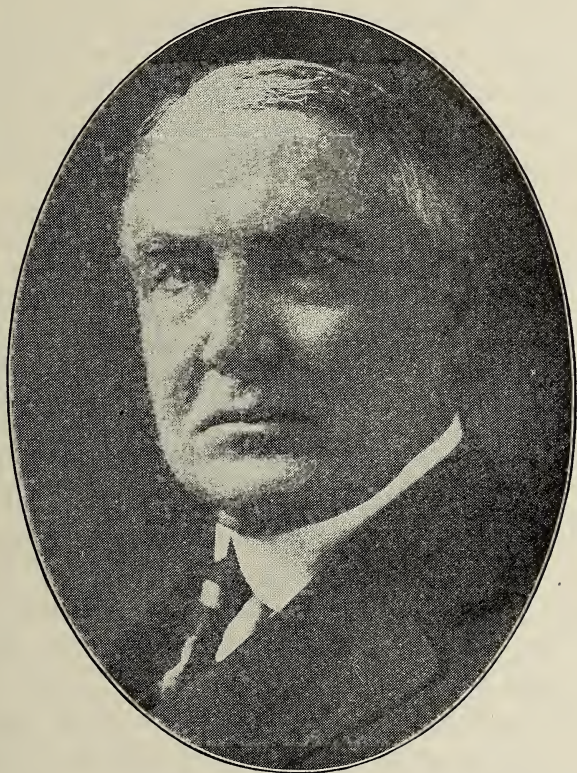


EBER BAKER,  
Founder of Marion

his arrival, Eber Baker together with Alexander Holmes, of Newark, surveyed and platted Marion. In January preceding, the Legislature by joint resolution had appointed Isaac Minor, Thomas Hux-



ford, and Cyrus Spink to locate the county seat for Marion County. After visiting several locations in the county, "the commissioners," says one who was present, "struck the stake at Marion. Then the en-



WARREN G. HARDING

President of the United States

thusiasm of the people of that place recognized no bounds and they got up an impromptu jollification, and not having any artillery at hand, they improvised a substitute by boring holes in several large oak trees

with a two inch auger, and putting in charges of powder, which they fired. Some of the trees were shattered to fragments."

In 1825 Marion contained 18 families. Marion's growth was at first slow. For many years the railroads failed to strike the town. The neighboring towns, Bucyrus, Kenton, Delaware and Mansfield had gone through their "boom" period before Marion's first railroad, the Bellefontaine and Indiana Railroad, was built.

The population of Marion by decades is as follows:

1830 .....	285	1880 .....	3,899
1840 .....	570	1890 .....	8,227
1850 .....	1,311	1900 .....	11,862
1860 .....	1,844	1910 .....	18,252
1870 .....	2,531	1920 .....	28,591

#### MARION CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

The Marion Centennial Celebration was held July 2-5, 1922, inclusive. On Sunday, July 2, appropriate historical services were held in all of the Marion Churches. In the afternoon the Kadgar Grotto Band and the Marion Choral Society entertained at Garfield Park. Sunday evening, A. Edwin Smith, D. D., President of the Ohio Northern University, and formerly Pastor of Epworth M. E. Church of Marion, addressed a large audience at Garfield Park pavilion.

John H. Bartram acted as chairman of the exercises Monday morning, July 3. Dr. L. L. Strock, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, offered prayer. Mayor Geo. W. Neeley delivered the welcome address and presented the keys of the city to Captain Charles Eber Baker of Chicago, a grandson of Eber Baker, the founder of Marion. Captain Baker was

born and resided in Marion until he was sixteen years of age, when he enlisted and served four years in the Civil War. He said in part:

"When Marion was selected as the place for the building of a home, all the surrounding country was a wilderness and trees had to be cut and stumps pulled out to prepare the land for crops. Sometimes this was a business that required years. This site was selected because of the beautiful prairies and it required some nerve for the pioneers to come here to the land of the Wyandot Indians, a tribe of savages as ferocious as any known. North of us there is a monument to Colonel William Crawford who was burned at the stake by the Indians. His torture was made as complete as possible. The Indians took the bullets out of their guns and shot salt into the colonel. They also shot him with arrows and continued to torture him even though he begged them to kill him. That nerve of the Marion pioneers shows the first display of the spirit of Marion.

"The next call for Marion to show her spirit was in 1848 when the United States went to war with Mexico. Volunteers first were called on to serve twelve months and Marion's quota was more than filled. Not only that, a large number of men organized and drilled in preparation for a second call. The next display of Marion's spirit came in 1861 when the United States sent ships to relieve the starving garrison at Fort Sumter and the Civil War broke out.

"Volunteers first were called to serve ninety days. It was supposed that the outbreak was only a minor insurrection. In the North we did not realize then that the South had been preparing for just such a conflict for twenty-five years. The first call was met and the Fourth Ohio was organized. Shortly afterward when it was realized that the war would not be ended in ninety days, another call came for 300,000 men to serve for a longer period. The Sixty-fourth Ohio was organized and I went in. After being in service four years and one month, I couldn't vote for three months after I returned from the war. I mention this because it was true of almost every soldier in the Union army. We all were young men, most of us under age.

"We went through a number of campaigns and served two years. Even at the end of that period there appeared no sign of an end and the government offered inducements for us to reenlist. Money was offered, but no amount of it would have influenced us one way or the other. Also we were offered a thirty-day furlough to begin the next day. We were in Tennessee, located in the woods. There was ice floating in the Tennessee



river and it was two degrees below zero. We re-enlisted and came home and when we arrived we found another manifestation of the spirit of Marion. We were warmly greeted everywhere and our glorious reception came to a grand climax on the day we left."

Judge William Z. Davis, former member of the Ohio Supreme Court, was the next speaker. For many years prior to his elevation to the bench he practiced law in Marion. Judge Davis said:

"Ever since I was invited to participate in this Centennial Celebration, I have often asked myself why I was invited to do so, for I am not one hundred years old. Nevertheless, I am considerably more than three-quarters of that age and have known a large number of the pioneers who founded the prosperity and planned for the progress of Marion and Marion County.

"Recently, when looking over that valuable work, Jacoby's *History of Marion County*, I was almost startled into believing that I was myself a pioneer, for I was so vividly reminded that I had maintained not only social but also business relations with so many of the settlers and builders of what you are so proud and of which you are today celebrating. You will indulge me I am sure if I pause here to mention some of them. There were Robert Cratty, who told me that he was a lieutenant in the war with England in 1812 and who helped to construct the first house in Prospect and who died in 1887 at the age of one hundred and three years; Christopher Brady, Robert Kerr, Abram Monnett and Washington Concklin, all of whom conducted agriculture on a large scale, also were founders and officers of the Marion National Bank. Colonel Concklin came from New York City and he claimed to have seen Robert Fulton's steamboat, the Clermont, sailing on the Hudson River, which was the beginning of successful steamboat navigation.

"I must mention in this connection James H. Heed and his brother-in-law, Dr. Henry A. True, and R. H. Johnson, who came from New York and entered into mercantile trade and in 1839, as I am informed, established the Marion County Bank. Neither should we neglect to mention General James H. Godman, who projected and built the first railroad into Marion and Marion County. He was breveted a brigadier general for gallantry in action during the Civil War. He served in a number of civil offices in this county and was the auditor of the state



of Ohio for eight years. Of especial interest to me, he was my preceptor in law.

"Indeed it would be a pleasant task to speak more particularly of all of those pioneers who deserve especial mention, but that is obviously impossible and moreover it would just now be more than I would be physically able to endure. However, I may say of them collectively that they were a hardy, practical and adventurous class of men to whom their daily tasks, which, although they appear appallingly difficult for some of us to contemplate now, were simply tasks that had to be done and endured. They were not all illiterate backwoodsmen. Some of those who established business and started forward the car of progress were reared in easy circumstances, some were graduates from Eastern colleges and some came from older civilizations in foreign lands. They were the kind of stock from which the progressive citizens of this age delight to claim descent and to which they are today glad to do honor.

"This wonderful development from malarious swamps, breeding ague and milk-sickness, into beautiful and wholesome farms and a growing, substantial, prosperous, beautiful and ambitious city are the natural result of the efforts of such founders.

"Nor should the women of these days be forgotten. Our mothers, our grandmothers, our great-grandmothers did their duty bravely, with a cheerful sense of their responsibility. The stalwart men of the present can not justly estimate what they owe to the pioneer mothers. Nearly all of what is fine in character and not a little of their strength and soundness of body they owe to motherly care and motherly teaching. All honor to the mothers, wives and daughters of the early time, worthy companions of the pioneer settlers."

At the conclusion of the speaking, J. Wilbur Jacoby, Chairman of the Centennial Committee, introduced three of the honored guests, residents of Marion. They were Mrs. Thomas Day, born in Marion in 1840, a daughter of Lincoln Baker, youngest son of Eber Baker; Mrs. Noah Runyan, ninety years old, a step-daughter of Eber Baker; Mrs. E. G. Allen, born in Marion in 1840, a daughter of Charles Baker, second son of Eber Baker.

Two grand concerts were given in the Chautauqua

Pavilion in Garfield Park, in the afternoon and evening. Perhaps the best known artist on the program was Mrs. Genevra Johnstone Bishop of Los Angeles, California, who has won renown in musical circles both in this country and abroad. Mrs. Bishop is a great granddaughter of Eber Baker, the founder of Marion. Other noted musicians on the program were Harry C. Mealey, of Cleveland; Willard Osborne, violinist; Mrs. Mary Stockwell Durfee, and Edward E. Hipsher all of whom were formerly of Marion.

July Fourth was the great day of the Celebration. Very early in the day the crowds began to gather at the fairgrounds. The thousands of seats provided for the occasion were filled long before the exercises opened and crowds filled the tracks, the paddock and the grounds surrounding the grandstand. Fortunately an amplifier had been installed by the Bell and Local Telephone Companies so that the addresses could be heard with ease in any part of the fairground. The crowd was estimated at from fifty to sixty thousand.

The presidential party, as it drove into the grounds and approached the grandstand, at 2:30 in the afternoon, was greeted with cheers and the waving of hats and handkerchiefs. In the party were President and Mrs. Harding, the President's father, Dr. Geo. T. Harding and wife, Miss Abigail Harding, a sister of the President, Geo. B. Christian, Jr., Secretary to the President, and Mrs. Christian, Dr. T. H. McAfee, pastor of Trinity Baptist Church, and Mrs. McAfee, General John J. Pershing, Brigadier General Dawes, Brigadier General and Mrs. Sawyer, D. R. Crissinger, Comptroller, and Mrs. Crissinger and their daughter and Mr. and Mrs. Geo. B. Christian, Sr.

The entire front of the grandstand was a mass of American flags. At the right of the President sat General Pershing and at his left, Mrs. Harding.

J. Wilbur Jacoby, Chairman of the Centennial Committee, presided.

Mrs. Geneva Johnstone Bishop was first on the program with a solo, "I'm Calling You Home." Her voice was wonderfully full and she was enthusiastically applauded.

"Military operations in all times have marked out the paths of civilization," Mr. Jacoby said in introducing General Pershing:

"The limits of the ancient world were bounded only by the endurance of its armies. So it was 100 years ago with the territory north of the Greenville treaty line, which marks the southern limits of Marion county.

"General Harrison's armies in 1812 literally cut through the hardwood forests of this place a military road, which a few years later became the highway of the early emigrant and the main street in the city of Marion.

"It is very fitting that 100 years later we should have as our guest the commanding general of the armies of our Republic.

"Perhaps no high official station in the world is won with such hard and rigid service as in the American army. General Pershing's advancement is no exception to the rule. His promotion has been steady, but only in recognition for meritorious service.

"When congress, by special act, made him general it very properly conferred upon him a title held only in the entire history of our nation by Washington, Grant, Sherman and Sheridan.

"General Pershing, we welcome you as our guest."

General Pershing's introduction was the signal for another ovation and as he took his place before the amplifier the crowds stood. While the General was speaking an aeroplane circled in front of the grandstand. The General spoke as follows:

"It is a very great privilege to be a guest of the city of Marion on the occasion of its celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of its birth, and to participate with you in doing honor to our greatest citizen.

"Beginning as far back as the Revolution itself, the history of the people of this section of our common country runs parallel to that of the Nation as a whole. The same incentive that prompted the fearless Colonists to brave the terrors of an uncharted sea, seeking an unknown country where they might live and worship according to the dictates of their own conscience, urged your forbears to establish themselves beyond the Alleghenies into that all embracing Northwest Territory, there to carve out a commonwealth whose rugged populace should exert a remarkable influence for good upon the destinies of the Nation.

"Of old colony stock the people of Ohio have ever been jealous of their inheritance of liberty, and the sane laws enacted in the upbuilding of the state have set high the standards of law and order, while the wise decisions of your jurists have become the guide to justice for younger states further on toward the Pacific. Development in everything that produces wealth to the people, contentment in the home life and security in government has moved with precision toward the goal set by those honest, independent pioneers.

"In all our wars adherence to these fundamental principles has ever been the motive for action. In the days when the foundations of government were threatened, the patriotism and loyalty of the people of Ohio stood unchallenged and unsurpassed. More recently, in the upheaval of a World War, devoted men and women of this state made every sacrifice that civilization should not be overthrown, and their example may well become the guide for all the future. In these achievements the quiet and unpretentious city of Marion has played her full part, and proudly may her people point to their service both at home behind the lines and abroad in the forefront of battle.

"It is especially fitting then that the anniversary of 100 years of well-directed effort should be celebrated on Independence day, the 146th of this great Republic. This circumstance must serve more vividly to recall the divine purpose for which our forefathers ordained a government by the people. Landing on a barren coast they offered prayer to Him who has ever led the righteous, and in faith took counsel among themselves as how best to lay the course of destiny which was to be fulfilled by their posterity.

"In the establishment of this Republic by a heroic ancestry,



after seven years of struggle under conditions of untold privation, among the people of the new-born Nation and in their gallant armies, the one aim was to safeguard and preserve for future generations the ideals for which they had endured these sacrifices. Theirs was a definite objective pursued with an undaunted spirit and a purposeful determination.

"It would be well for us to lay aside more frequently our routine duties and our pursuit of pleasure to study the characteristics of those to whom we of today owe the privilege of living under and participating in a government dedicated to the welfare of the people. They found time to consider and determine questions affecting the community, state and nation. Government to them was a personal responsibility. It would be advantageous for us to follow in their footsteps and learn that the price of freedom is a knowledge of the duties of citizenship and a wise exercise of its functions.

"Among the questions of national significance that present themselves for solution are the enforcement of law and order and protection against mob violence, through the intervention of federal authority, wherever necessary. Another is the elimination of ignorance, through universal instruction of the masses, both native and foreign born, especially in the obligations of citizenship. Common sense dictates adequate support of a reasonable measure of preparedness against the calamity of war, while the maintenance of our merchant marine as a distinct commercial and military asset is a necessity if we are to hold our position and prestige among the nations.

"Under the constitution every man is guaranteed the right to live, enjoy liberty and pursue happiness, but there are those who defy guarantees, and seek to deprive others of these sacred privileges. Where whole communities openly sympathize with ruthless murder of inoffensive people in the exercise of the right to earn a livelihood, and where wholesale murder goes unpunished, it is imperative that public opinion should demand that the strong arm of the law, under fearless officials, take positive action. Overt and inexcusable acts of this character not only debase the participants, but lower the whole moral fabric of the Nation and strike at the very existence of self-government. Servants of the people on whom is imposed the obligation of law enforcement must foresee impending danger, and take necessary preventive measures, or be regarded as inefficient, criminally negligent or worse. If such outrages are possible in orderly communities, then loyalty itself is at a serious discount. Individuals or organizations that countenance such criminal acts, or whose leaders, in violation of the law, advocate the use of

force against the person or property of others with whom they happen to disagree, no longer deserve recognition or respect from law abiding people, but merit only unequivocal condemnation and prompt punishment.

"We must recognize that there is a dangerous tendency toward disobedience to law, and an appalling laxity in law enforcement. Moral standards have become materially weakened, and the criminal elements of society are less cautious in their activities. It is time for all citizens who cherish our heritage of free government to assert themselves and cry out against lawlessness and immorality. We must stand up for prompt enforcement of the law, or concede that free government is a failure. Let us invoke the high standards of integrity and patriotism that prevailed when men and women by the millions sought opportunity to make the supreme sacrifice for country. Open adherence to lofty ideals is quite as essential now in the post-war days as during war time when impending danger inspired every one to unselfish devotion and service.

"The destiny of the Nation is in the hands of its people, and ignorance among those who cast the ballots stands as a constant menace to our institutions. Universal suffrage demands universal education and high standards of moral responsibility among all citizens of whatever origin or lineage. It is amazing to think that twenty-five per cent. of the voting population is illiterate, and that many communities fail to appreciate the dangerous significance of such a condition. Among this class is a large proportion of people of foreign birth or extraction.

"As to immigration, we welcome among us those who are willing to accept our institutions and who wish to share with us the benefits of free government, but we object to those who oppose all government, or who indulge in political or commercial propaganda in the interest of any foreign nation, and we must demand of all our citizens, whether native or foreign born, full understanding of the principles of our government and complete allegiance to its sovereignty.

"The voice of the blatant pacifist is again heard in the land. The unreasoning, the unthinking and those who will not learn from experience continue to advocate the theory that complete disarmament will prevent war. In the knowledge that our army is of the people, and in the face of the loss of life and the cost in money that we ourselves have recently withstood as a result of neglect of the most feeble preparation, they pronounce against any sort of military training or preliminary organization, and would so reduce the army as to make expansion impossible within any reasonable period, and possibly again compel the enormous

expenditure of life and treasure under which the country is suffering today. I venture to say that few, if any, of those who would destroy our small army and navy in times of peace were found in the ranks with those brave and patriotic men who fought to destroy the armies of our enemies on the field of battle.

"It must be with deep chagrin that every American recalls the almost helpless feeling that came over us when at the beginning of the World War we were confronted with the problem of saving the allies from destruction, and had no ships in which to transport our armies. Only fortuitous circumstance prevented the last stroke by the enemy that would have made him the victor, and made it possible for the allies to hold on for the year necessary for us to build ships. Even then over half of our armies were transported in foreign bottoms. Prior to the Civil War ninety per cent of our foreign commerce was carried under the American flag. Today we are in a position again to take our place on the seas as becomes this great nation which must control the shipment of its own products if it would maintain its present prestige in the world of commerce. The development of sea power in foreign countries has been successful only with government encouragement.

"Maritime powers have ever dominated trade. Our own experience has all too often shown the error of a short-sighted policy which has left American owners to compete single handed against subsidized foreign shipping. When the American battle fleet went around the world, it was supplied by vessels flying foreign flags, and yet the lesson did not dawn upon those who still withheld support. Today we would be helpless as a sea power without an adequate merchant marine. If again it became necessary to transport 2,000,000 men across the seas there might not be a friendly power whose self-interest would prompt her to render us aid. Those who oppose the policy of giving aid to an American merchant marine are working against the best interests of their country, in which action they are without doubt strongly supported by the agents of every well-developed maritime power. We have sea trade and we are becoming more and more dependent upon it. We have again learned at enormous cost the principles of ship construction, and we have a population whose ancestors sailed on every sea who would naturally and efficiently take to the sea if the opportunity were given. Not only in its commercial aspects would a merchant marine be advantageous, but national safety demands that it be maintained.

"At the risk of speaking at too great length, I have undertaken to mention some questions that seem worthy of considera-

tion at this time and on this occasion. The Nation is sound at heart, but individuals are too often prone to neglect their obligations to give serious thought to matters of grave national import. Let us invoke the public spirit and the patriotic enthusiasm of our noble ancestry, and realize that it becomes the duty of every earnest citizen who believes in the permanence of our Republic to assume a more active participation in affairs of the Nation."

A chorus of sixteen selected soloists, under the direction of Ernst C. Carl, chairman of the music committee of the Centennial, sang beautifully "The Star Spangled Banner."

"Marion city and Marion County today welcome the guests and visitors present from far and near," Mr. Jacoby stated in introducing President Harding:

"We have tried to make this celebration more than a perfunctory one. In a large sense our celebration here is your celebration, for all over Ohio and our Nation communities have grown and developed in much the same way, with the same pioneer conditions to overcome, with hard, stern grinding tasks to do. And yet, no hundred years of all the centuries have been so filled with the joys of accomplishment as these just past. For us today the mark set is a high one. May we gather new inspiration from this event to meet the complicated tasks we have to do.

"In one respect our community differs from most of those here represented. Most fortunately for our Nation, the high preferment of our fellow countrymen has fallen upon our loved and highly esteemed fellow townsman. Nothing I could say would add to the regard in which he is held by his neighbors.

"President Harding, these, your friends, welcome you home."

Instantly following Mr. Jacoby's conclusion there was a tremendous ovation from the crowd, members of which practically simultaneously stood as the President arose and stepped to the front of the box. The first demonstration hardly died down when another



was started. At its conclusion the President spoke as follows:

"My Friends and Neighbors: It is exceedingly good to come home and meet with you again and join you in the centennial celebration of the founding of Marion. Frankly, it would be preferable to come simply as a Marionite, and speak as one, because it is easily possible for me to feel a peculiar intimacy toward such an occasion.

"It is pretty hard to be president and perfectly natural and normal. Some days when you have exercised infinite patience and tolerance and have had the assistance of your friends who have some measurable degree of wisdom, you retire at night and think the world is going to roll along all right, but when the returning tide comes in, it is the same old story over and over again. You see, when everything goes along lovely the president never knows a thing about it, but when there is a struggle he becomes the chief sponsor. For example, here sits in grey, the distinguished son of Ohio, General Dawes, who has inaugurated for you and for me the budget system of government. General Dawes will go out to save \$5,000,000 and never tell me a word about it, but if some one in the government spends \$1,000 more than is needed, he comes to me with a kick.

"If there is anybody in Marion who feels that I have slighted him, he must understand it just isn't possible to greet every one. I would love to have the personal touch with all of you, just as much as anybody in Marion. I wish I could stay a little longer. I will welcome the day when I can come back to stay with you permanently. Some of you think it is a very fine thing to be president of the United States and it is good to keep on thinking it, because when you wake up from your dream you will find it a very different thing.

"I cannot justify a claim to any great part in making the Marion of today, but as a newspaper worker for more than a third of a century I have done a lot of cheering, which is no less essential to the forward movement in a community than it is in football or baseball. Amid the cheering and boosting I did my share of observing and recording, and I could relate things interesting to me, probably interesting to you of Marion, but they would seem rather trivial to that larger community which is habituated to expect some form of broadcasting to every presidential utterance.

"An interesting reminder of the inescapable responsibility for presidential utterance came to me a year ago. I was on a

brief vacation in the mountains of New Hampshire, and my generous host said we must go to a nearby village which had been his boyhood home, and meet the people who would be assembled. We motored down the mountain, we had a most agreeable meeting, and I spoke extemporaneously for probably fifteen minutes. Sixty days later there came to my desk a newspaper published in Peking, China, with a verbatim reprint of the speech.

"Of course, there was nothing in it which I did not say sincerely. No one fit for public service will ever be guilty of that.

"My thought is that, ordinarily, there is time and place for particular speech, but in the presidential office all times and all places are very much alike. There may be a justified pride in the manifest interest of all our own people and all the world being interested in what the United States government is thinking or saying, but I confess being human enough to wish to talk of the intimate things relating to Marion, without misconstruction or misapplication.

"There is very much of the latter. Maybe it will not be unseemly to relate an instance. Several weeks ago, when the returning tide of industrial activity made the time seem opportune, I invited some forty or fifty captains of the great iron and steel industry to dine with me, to confer about the abolition of the twelve-hour work-day. I did not choose to proclaim excessively and accomplish inadequately. Imagine my surprise, yea, my amusement, to read in an important metropolitan newspaper that I was dining the steel barons to 'shake them down' for the deficit in the campaign funds of 1920.

"It would be good to talk about Marion, just among ourselves. I know nothing more interesting to any man than his own community. If he isn't interested, he isn't a good citizen.

"A century sounds like a long while at first impression, but after all, it is only a little while. There are communities in the world ten or twenty centuries old not half so important in world activities today; perhaps they have contributed to human progress infinitely less in all their time than Marion has in one century. Nay, in a shorter time than that, for the Marion we boast has been really only a half century in the making.

"I mean no disparagement of the older and earlier citizenship of sturdy qualities which pioneered the way. Theirs was a great and highly essential work in blazing the way for the present day civilization. It required strong men and noble women to turn a wilderness into worth-while habitations. Malaria and

ague sorely tried human bodies even though souls cheerfully resisted.

"General Pershing spoke of the fearless Colonists, and we ought to revere them for their surpassing bequest of liberty and nationality, but the builders of the West, the men and women who marched with the 'Westward Star of Empire,' were no less brave, no less heroic, and were more prophetic. They sensed the greater possibilities, of which the colonists had not dreamed.

"I said a century seemed a long while in which to achieve, and is yet only a little while. The Nation lacks four years of boasting a century and a half, but discovery came four centuries ago, and a century and a half of colonial development preceded the national beginning.

"It was my fortune to participate in the tercentenary celebration of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, a year ago, and there was the constant reminder that New England had preceded us two centuries in the making of America.

"But there is a rather more personal reason for the 'little while' view. I became a citizen of Marion forty years ago, almost to a day, and have been a resident of the county just about fifty years. And it all has the seeming of being but a little while. Yet I could almost qualify as a pioneer.

"At the risk of being undignified, I will relate an experience. My father had moved to Marion from a farm near Caledonia in the winter before I came. When he moved to Marion he left a mule behind because the mule was so well known in the vicinity that he could not be sold at a profit, and yet so valuable that he could not sacrifice it. So, when I came to Marion the first of July, I was permitted to ride the mule, as it was the easiest way to bring me here.

"I started early in the afternoon, but this mule had only one gait. You couldn't put him in second or third, and you couldn't step on the gas or anything. The evening shades were falling when I reached the vicinity of the Roberts' farm, three or four miles out of Marion. The situation was looking dark to me and I stopped to ask an old fellow, who was smoking his pipe, how far it was to Marion. Without cracking a smile, he replied: 'Well, if you are going to ride that mule, it is a farther distance than you will ever get.'

"As I neared the town the evening bells were ringing for the mid-week prayer. I do not know that I have ever heard a concert of bells that sounded so sweet. If I could somehow go back to that day, I would make a little more permanent and a little more influential the tendency to religious worship which is the softening influence of American life.

"The Marion I first saw in 1882 had less than 4,000 people, but my first impression was that of very much a city, in which I feared I should be hopelessly lost. The industrial awakening had not been given notable expression. Edward Huber had begun the industrial march, but he was still struggling, as most industries struggle, before they are firmly founded.

"Probably Marion was as countrified as I felt, but I did not know. It was my viewpoint, my limited vision, which kept me from knowing. You see, I came from the farm and village, and the county seat of 4,000 loomed big in my vision, because I had seen nothing greater. Surely it looked ten times as large as it does today, though the Marion of today is ten times larger than then and twice ten times as important in its relationship to the world of human activities.

"This confession is meant to have application. How important is the viewpoint to all the impressions and problems of life. The villager goes to the great city, is confused by the high tide of activities, and awed by the complacency of those accustomed to them and so reveals himself a provincial, and is so designated. But those who proclaim him are oftentimes no less provincial, because they too have the narrow vision; they do not know the village and country life, which is ever freshening and swelling the current of our national life.

"The early Marion had only the viewpoint of the county civic and trading center, until industrial genius flashed on the screen the picture of factory production, balances of trade in larger circles, and the attending advancements incident to greater activities. It is not for me to detail the expansion and transformation. We are an outstanding industrial and commercial community today, and I join you in a very great pride in the Marion of 1922, and wish for it accentuated growth, magnified importance, and larger social, educational, moral and patriotic attainment in the century to come. It would little avail to record more material enlargements. The consciousness of mental and spiritual attainments, readily fostered by material growth, is the real compensation to be striven for.

"Let me turn my thoughts to the natal day of the Nation. One hundred and forty-six years have passed since the prophetic beginning, and it will be a patriotic thing to stop for retrospection, and introspection, and circumspection; to take stock about our keeping of the legacy bequeathed by the founding fathers.

"In our international relations all is well. They are securer today, with more assuring prospects of peace than ever before in the history of the Republic. New guarantees have recently been added, by the very process of exchanging viewpoints, and bring-



ing the spokesman of great nations to the conference table, and for the exchange of views, and to resolve to do together those fine and nobler things which no one nation could do alone.

"Frankly, we have a broader viewpoint than the founding fathers; we must have, because human progress has altered our world relationship, but we have held firmly to all the fundamentals to which they committed us. We can not be aloof from the world, but we can impress the world with American ideals. I mean to say it, because it is seemly to say it, the world believes today in American national unselfishness as never before, and recognizes our commitment to justice to be no less resolute than our determination to preserve our liberties. Even Russia, toward whom we remain aloof, except in sympathy and a very practical proof thereof, looks upon America as friend and example.

"But let us turn specifically to introspection, take stock among ourselves. Materially, we have surpassed the wildest dreams of the inspired founders. I saw the fifteen-starred flag the other day, the flag of 1812, unfurled over Ft. McHenry, during the attack in which Francis Scott Key wrote "The Star Spangled Banner". Ohio made the fifteenth star.\* You can little guess the contrast between the blue field with fifteen stars and the same field with the forty-eight glittering stars of today all fastened by popular faith and brightened by popular hope.

"We are great, and rich, and powerful as to states and sections; we are in the full concord of union. This great organic law has been preserved and its ambiguities removed. Where there has been enlarged federal authority, the states have wished it so. The constitution has been amended to meet the popular will. Our representative form of constitutional government is responsive to the will of the majority, responsive to the expression of deliberate public opinion. It must be so to endure. Majorities, restrained to the protection of minorities, ever must rule. The constitution and the laws sponsored by the majority must be enforced. It does not matter who opposes. If an opposing minority has a just objection, the rising tide of public opinion will change the law. There is no abiding liberty under any other plan.

"I mean to sound no note of pessimism. This Republic is secure. Menaces do arise, but public opinion will efface them. Meanwhile government must repress them. The eighteenth amendment denies to a minority a fancied sense of personal lib-

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\* Ohio was the seventeenth state admitted into the Union. It was not until 1818 that Congress enacted a law providing for the addition of a star to the field of the flag for each new state admitted.

erty, but the amendment is the will of America and must be sustained by the government and public opinion, else contempt for the law will undermine our very foundations.

"The foremost thought in the constitution is the right to freedom and the pursuit of happiness. Men must be free to live and achieve. Liberty is gone in America when any man is denied by anybody the right to work and live by that work. It does not matter who denies.

"A free American has the right to labor without any other's leave. It would be no less an abridgement to deny men to bargain collectively. Government can not tolerate any class or group domination through force. It will be a sorry day when group domination is reflected in our laws. Government, and the laws which government is charged with enforcing, must be for all the people, ever aiming at the common good.

"The tendencies of the present day are not surprising. War stirred the passions of men, and left the world in upheaval. There have been readjustments and liquidations, and more remain to be made. In the making there has been the clash of interests, the revelations of greed, the perfectly natural tendency to defend self-interests. It has developed groups and blocs, and magnified class inclinations. But the readjustment is no less inevitable, and it is world-wide. It is the problem of human kind. Your government has sought to aid, with patience, with tolerance, with sympathy. It has sought to mitigate the burdens. It has sought the merging of viewpoints to make the way easier. It believes the America of our opportunity and unchallenged security affords the way to solution.

"In war we give all we possess, all our lives, all our resources, everything, to make sure our national survival. Our preservation in peace is no less important. It calls for every patriotic offering, because dangers from within are more difficult to meet than the alien enemy.

"My one outstanding conviction, after sixteen months in the presidency, is that the greatest traitor to his country is he who appeals to prejudice and inflames passion, when sober judgment and honest speech are so necessary to firmly establish tranquillity and security.

"A few days ago I chanced to see in a home paper a quotation from Will Carleton's story of 'The First Settler.' I heard Mr. Carleton read it in the old city hall thirty-five years ago. It was the recital of hasty and unheeding speech to the first settler's wife, when he found the cattle had strayed. Stirred by his reproach she started to find them, brought them back, sank exhausted on the cabin floor, where he found her dead body, after

his all-night search. In his remorse, he felt the guilt of his killing words, and in his reciting the story, he said:

“Boys flying kites haul in their white-winged birds;  
You can't do that way when you're flying words.  
Thoughts unexpressed may sometimes fall back dead,  
But God Himself can't kill 'em, once they're said.”

“I leave you that thought on this centennial day, because its lesson will save many a wound, many a cross current in the happiness of the community. It will save many a menace in the national life.

“I have no fear about the Republic. We are not only stronger, but we are morally better than when we began. If there is seeming excess of exploitation, profiteering, dishonesty and betrayal, it is only because we are grown the larger, and we know the ills of life, and read of them more than the good that is done. I do not wonder that the ignorant and illy-informed are made restless by the magnified stories of public abuses and proclaimed privilege. We need truth, only the truth, the wholesome truth, as the highest aid to Americanization and the manifestation of highest patriotism.

“America will go on. The fundamentals of the Republic and all its liberties will be preserved, and government must maintain the supremacy of law and authority. Under these liberty has its fullest fruition, and men attain to reveal the glory of liberty's institutions.”

“Marion, My Marion,” the text of which was written by Miss Isabel V. Freeland, was sung by Mrs. Mary Stockwell Durfee, the piano accompaniment being played by Mrs. H. K. Mouser.

In introducing General Dawes Mr. Jacoby said:

“When the World War broke upon us we were a people unprepared in many ways. One of the marvelous things of that struggle was the manner in which the immense stores of provisions were kept moving to the front for the sustenance of our vast armies. It was the master mind and indomitable energy of Brigadier General Dawes that guided this branch of the service to successful consummation. Born in southern Ohio, his father a general, he graduated at Cincinnati Law School in the same class as our fellow townsman, D. R. Crissinger, and our United States Senator, Atlee Pomerene. He later became comptroller of

the currency and he has just now completed the organization of a budget system for our national government.

"It can be truthfully said of General Dawes that he never quit a task until it was well and thoroughly done. He has at all times been versatile, strenuous and successful.

"General Dawes, I take pleasure in introducing you to this Ohio audience."

The crowds applauded and stood as the general took his place at the speakers' stand.

General Dawes spoke of business in government. "The budget law cut down government expenses because the president of the United States said the departments must economize and conduct their affairs in a business way," the general declared in his characteristically emphatic way, and added:

"Until this president took charge of the administration the cabinet members didn't play the game. The departments for many years ran as separate and individual corporations as they pleased. He created by executive order coordinating agencies who see that economy is practiced.

"We read in the press that President Harding is surrounded with a strong cabinet. I have no quarrel with that statement. It is true, but it also is true that the cabinet is surrounded by a stronger Harding."

At the close of General Dawes' speech, Mr. Jacoby introduced George B. Christian, Jr., Secretary to the president, as the great-grandson of the first county recorder and first clerk of Marion County and the first congressman from this district. Mr. Christian acknowledged the ovation given him with the statement, "I am very glad to get home."

D. R. Crissinger, comptroller of the currency, was introduced by Mr. Jacoby. Mr. Crissinger occupied a seat several rows back of the presidential box and when he stood and started to acknowledge the introduc-



tion there were a number of cries of "Down in front, Dick," and Mr. Crissinger came down to the speakers' stand and spoke as follows:

"The world has come through a great crisis and the people of all the world have suffered as people have never suffered before. I want to remind you that the people of the United States are the best off, happiest, best dressed and best fed people in all the world. I say this because we owe it to ourselves and to our country to be satisfied in this great country of ours. We can not afford to scatter the seeds of discontent, disloyalty, treason and all the other ills besetting certain classes of citizens.

"We owe it to our country to stand for law and order because the good of our fellow citizens requires it and I know the people will give it when they understand. Every day there come become me charts that show what is transpiring in all the world and I want to say that the picture is one of which every American should be proud. It portrays the feeling that in the United States we have the best institutions of any country in the world and I believe the American people are proud of them.

"We have listened to three great sermons, sermons on the Mount. When this administration took hold of the government it entered upon duties that never before had fallen on the shoulders of man, and, with the greatest soul that ever occupied the White House, we are going to unravel the problems and bring to the country the greatest prosperity it has ever known."

Brigadier General Sawyer, introduced by Mr. Jacoby, declared: "I am proud of being one of you in sending this great president to take charge of this great Nation."

"The program would be incomplete without introducing the first lady of the land," Mr. Jacoby said in presenting Mrs. Harding. As she stood there was a tremendous wave of cheering.

Mr. Jacoby announced, exactly at 4:08 o'clock, that the exercises were concluded. Members of the Howitzer company, in command of Captain G. V. Paschall, formed an aisle from the stands to the automobiles and

the crowds cheered and waved their hats and handkerchiefs until the automobiles bearing the president and his party passed out of the grounds.

The evening of the Fourth was observed by a dazzling display of fireworks, witnessed by thousands. The likenesses of President Harding, Eber Baker and General Pershing were reproduced in fireworks display.

The morning program of the Fifth of July was presided over by George B. Christian, Sr. The first speaker was former Governor, James E. Campbell, President of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. His address on Patriotic Ohio and Patriotic Marion follows:

"As today's part in the Marion centennial is largely designed to honor the American Legion, it would seem appropriate that this address should be devoted to patriotism as exemplified by the State of Ohio and the county of Marion. Before Ohio was a state, even before the Northwest Territory out of which it was carved had been created, this whole region was consecrated to a patriotic purpose. In the gloomiest days of the American revolution when there seemed no hope for the patriots, Washington, with his wonderful vision and prophetic instinct, said, 'If we are overpowered we will retire to the valley of the Ohio, and there will we be free.'

"The patriot cause did not fail, but soon after the treaty of peace this region was opened for settlement. Great streams of immigration poured into it. Before they came the ordinance creating the Northwest Territory had declared that 'religion, morality and knowledge being necessary for good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and means of education shall be forever encouraged;' and, for that purpose there was set apart a certain portion of the land. Thus there was laid in morality, in integrity, in intelligence and in honor, the foundation of our great state. Here then came the Puritan from New England, the Knickerbocker from New York, the Swede from New Jersey, the Quaker and the German from Pennsylvania, the Catholic English from Delaware and Maryland, the Protestant English and the Scotch from Virginia, the Scotch-Irish from North Carolina and the Huguenots from South Carolina. They

were all young and nearly every man was a Revolutionary soldier who had boldly and successfully defied the power of Great Britain.

"Some of those sturdy young Revolutionary soldiers came to the county of Marion and fifteen of them are known to be buried here. Doubtless their descendants have had a full share in making this one of the great counties of Ohio. The early settlers not only had to endure the hardships and privations of pioneer life, but they also had to fight the Indians; and almost constant warfare against the tomahawk and the scalping knife raged until the end of the war with Great Britain in 1812. Thirty-nine veterans of the War of 1812 lie buried in Marion county—thirteen of them in the old Wyatt Cemetery—including Captain Flynn and Captain Drake.

"The next war, that with Mexico, is one of which the Nation is not particularly proud except so far as it demonstrated the prowess of our soldiers. Marion county was a strong Whig county; the Whigs opposed the war until it was actually in progress and the county sent very few men to the war—none of any prominence except Lieutenant Robinson Stevens.

"In the Civil War the state of Ohio wrote 313,180 names upon the muster roll of the Union and she wrote them at the top. There were Grant and Sherman and Sheridan and McPherson and McDowell, and the Fighting McCooks, and Custer and Lytle, and a list much too long for this address, who served to give Ohio an imperishable place in history.

"Marion county and Marion village did their full duty in that hour of their country's peril. The history of the county puts the enlistments at 1,800 and a statement by the chairman of this meeting—himself a gallant Union veteran—gives the number as 1,755, but a calculation made by your speaker fixes it at 2,285. The history of the county gives the names of Colonel J. H. Godman, Lieutenant Colonel A. H. Brown and fifty-three other commissioned officers. On the day of the first call for troops in 1861, a scene, typical of those occurring in every village and city of the country, was enacted in Marion—then containing about nineteen hundred inhabitants. Judge Samuel H. Bartram was chairman and his speech, voicing the sentiment of a majority of the men who had voted against Lincoln at the preceding presidential election, is well worthy of preservation. He said:

"I think the South has grievances but the remedy is in the Union, not out of it. I am a states-rights man, but consider that we owe duties to the federal government which we cannot violate with impunity. The confederate states have transgressed federal

rights and are, therefore, guilty of treason. Actual warfare has begun. What shall we do? As American citizens there is but one choice. The government must be sustained.'

"At that meeting two companies were raised, although the total quota of Marion county under that call would have been about eighty-five men. This shows the high spirit of patriotism which animated the people of Marion.

"After four tragic years of fraternal strife, death grew weary of his carnival and the end came. The history of Marion county places the number of her sons actually killed in battle at sixty-five, but the total number of casualties has been estimated at 739.

"To the Spanish War, Marion county sent one company which was more than her quota. Their patriotism was of the same high character as that of the soldiers of the Civil War. In the World War the county of Marion furnished her exact quota, which was about the same in numbers as her contribution to the Civil War.

"It should not be forgotten that the new world would not have participated in the war of the old world, and thereby have saved mankind from degradation under a military autocracy, if the United States had not remained an undivided country. It is the everlasting glory of the American soldier that he carried our flag into France and Belgium and, ultimately, into Germany itself. There is no time here to rehearse the stories of American gallantry. The incidents are fresh in public memory; they will be later embalmed in history, and their glories will never be forgotten. There is something, however, that ought to be said about the doughboy. He, almost singlehanded, did the fighting. In the Civil War each side lost seventy-three generals — 146 in all. In the World War, with practically the same number of enlistments, only one general was killed and he had not yet been commissioned. There were some colonels, notably one from Ohio in the Rainbow division, who were in the front of the battle, but the death of an officer above the rank of captain was a rarity. It is not intended by this to impugn the courage of officers of high rank. Undoubtedly, one and all, they did their duty fearlessly, but the mode of warfare has changed in sixty years.

"Our boys in Belgium and France demonstrated the fact that the free and untrammelled conditions of American life, the wide liberty given to childhood, and our educational advantages, have produced soldiers superior to any that the world has ever known. Their superiority consists in their power of initiative; in their ability to think for themselves and not to put all of the thinking



upon their officers; in their ability to act independently and to take advantage of unexpected opportunities.

"When we consider the causes of our three great wars — the revolution; the Civil War and the World War — we must remember that all of them were forced upon us. The first was fought to preserve our freedom; the second to maintain the Union; and the third to save humanity. It has been so since the dawn of history; every footstep in the long and weary struggle for liberty, whether religious or political, has left its imprint in bloodsoaked earth. War is not always an unmixed evil, terrible as it is. The most righteous causes have succeeded only through war. No truer line was ever written than the one in our great Battle Hymn of the Republic which thunders out these words: 'There is fiery gospel writ in burnished rows of steel.' The Creator, in his flawless economy, has ever decreed that the beligerent passions of men shall work out the beneficent purposes of God.

"In conclusion, looking at this great array of World War veterans gathered here for their parade, one recalls the glory they added to the flag of our country when they took it across the seas; and this brings to memory certain other appropriate lines:

"'Bright hued and beautiful it waved,  
The Flag our fathers knew,  
In the sunny air of France, it laved,  
And gained a brighter hue.  
Oh, may it ever the emblem be  
Of all that makes this people free,  
And may we cherish liberty,  
And to that flag be true.'"

Following the address of Governor Campbell, General J. Warren Keifer, of Springfield, Ohio, spoke in part as follows:

"We are too apt to overlook and underrate our own environment and to look abroad for that which is important and great and thus often to discredit our home surroundings, neighbors and ourselves. This and like anniversary occasions will do much, especially in a republic like ours, to remind the people therein of what has been and can be obtained by honest and patriotic effort toward safeguarding human liberty and promoting happiness and also to perpetuate our form of 'government by the people and for the people.'

"The duties of individual citizenship in a democratic form of government are greater than in an autocratic or monarchical

form of government. We have no royalty or privileged class of citizens. All are common people with equality of rights before the law and to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience.

"This Nation has just passed its one hundred and forty-sixth year since its Declaration of Independence, and, though it has purged itself of much that was evil and subversive of true freedom of the human race, it yet has signals of danger incident to a disposition of some of our inhabitants to regard our constitutional form of liberty as tyranny, and to regard liberty as license.

"Liberty, in a government by the people, must be protected by the law, well enforced, to secure its perpetuity. Liberty not so protected leads inevitably to anarchy and all its consequences, and from it the step is, as history proves, quick and short to monarchy.

"Marion county, of which Marion became the county seat, was organized March 1, 1824, and included a three-mile square Indian reservation on its northern boundary. Marion, the county seat, was laid out in 1821 and first inhabited in 1822. Both city and county were named in honor of Francis Marion, of revolutionary fame.

"What has transpired of paramount importance in the United States in the last one hundred years? Ohio alone has reached a population far exceeding that of the original thirteen states, and in wealth is correspondingly great.

"Indian wars have been almost continuous throughout the whole period. Texas and other large areas of territory extending to the Pacific ocean were acquired before 1850. A successful war with Mexico was fought.

"The Civil War, characteristically bloody, resulted in maintaining the unity and integrity of the states and the perpetuity of the Union, cemented and guaranteed by the constitution of the United States. That war resulted in wiping out human slavery in our Republic and, in a moral and exemplary sense, throughout the so-called civilized nations of the earth.

"The Spanish-American war — likewise resulted in freeing the slaves in Cuba and other Spanish possessions in America, including also the Philippines, Hawaiian and other islands of the Pacific ocean.

"I witnessed a striking scene in the Spanish-American War while serving therein as major general of volunteers, illustrating and exemplifying the effect of abolishing slavery in the United States.

"On January 1, 1899, I commanded the troops that marched into and took possession of the City of Havana, Cuba, and the Spanish forces, including warships and forts in and about the harbor.

"As we marched into the city we witnessed the flag of Spain, that had floated over Moro Castle on an eminence near the harbor, for about four hundred years, protecting human slavery, suddenly came down and immediately thereafter another flag, whereon was inscribed — *Cuba Libre*, take its place, followed by the Stars and Stripes of the United States of America, indicative of Cuba's freedom and the abolition of slavery in the thitherto Spanish-American possessions. This was the thirty-sixth anniversary of President Lincoln's proclamation to free the slaves in the confederate states. Thenceforth Cuba and other thitherto Spanish possessions in America, have been without human slavery.

"Returning, in conclusion, to the city of Marion; it can be truly and boastfully said that in its one hundred years of existence the people thereof have patriotically performed their part in propagating the true principles of freedom to mankind and have maintained the integrity of our democratic form of representative government, state and federal.

"The achievements of the past are the heritage of the present, and impose on all the people the continuing high duty of progressively perpetuating them for posterity.

"We are not to lie supinely on our backs, trusting to accomplishments of the past for our safety, lest our liberty, as in other countries will be undermined, and autocracy become enthroned.

"The idea that true human liberty in the government of a nation can be successfully maintained without obedience to law, well enforced, is too fallacious for discussion. Peace and order requires obedience to law and order. Civilization in the light of Christianity depends, in communities and governments, on the rights of all people being justly and equally protected.

"It remains to be said that Marion has been honored by the people of the world's greatest republic, choosing for its executive leader one of its citizens as the chief executive — Warren G. Harding, president of the United States. His duties and responsibilities as president are immeasurably multiplied by the conditions incident to the recent unparalleled World War. He is worthy of the high office as has already been proven by his policy and acts.

"It is the duty of all good citizens to aid, support and even to advise him, and to refrain from attempts to criticise him in his honest efforts to do his full duty.

"There are too many of our people, who, mistakenly, assume they can be regarded great through doing nothing but criticising those who honestly discharge their public duties.

"For myself I desire to say that while I have served my country during two wars and have had more men killed and wounded under my direct command than George Washington and all his generals in the seven years' war of the Revolution, I am, and always have been, an advocate for that 'peace on earth and good will toward men' that the angel from heaven with its heavenly host around Him, cried over the manger-cradle of our Savior at His birth of Bethlehem.

"War is only barbarism in all its forms, and unworthy of the human race."

At two o'clock in the afternoon a wonderfully successful historical parade showing the various development of Marion and Marion County and an imposing review of members of the American Legion from all sections of Ohio was witnessed by the President and Mrs. Harding, General Pershing, Commander McNider and other notables present.

Immediately following the parade the members of the Legion went to the fairground for their reunion program and barbecue. Grant E. Mouser, Jr., presided. Shortly after the program began, President and Mrs. Harding and General Pershing arrived. They were greeted with a roar of cheering.

"You have taken me off my feet," the president said. "When the demonstration following his introduction by Grant E. Mouser, Jr., had died down, the president said:

"You have taken me off my feet. I only came as a spectator, hoping that my presence would convey to you my very cordial greetings. I am not going to complain about it. There is no complaint in my heart. I feel that I have even come uninvited, because, somehow or other, you don't invite the president to all the features of your program and I just trailed in with your commander-in-chief because I wanted to have the pleasure of



looking into your faces. I have been compensated thrice over by sitting here and listening to the splendid address just delivered by General McQuigg.

"So long as the American Legion is consecrated to the preservation of the constitution and the maintaince of law and order in this Republic, the United States of America is everlastingly secure. Another thing the general said I must elaborate on for just a moment and then I shall have done. He said your program was one of the future. Have you ever stopped to think, young men, of the wonderful part the Grand Army of the Republic has played in fifty years of American progress? The veterans of the Civil War, once they organized, entered into the social, the political, the business, the moral life of this great Republic. There was not anything achieved for fifty years that did not have the sanction of the conscience of the Grand Army of the Republic.

"So, men, you are charged with a greater responsibility now than you were charged with on the battlefield in France, because in your hands is the destiny for the next half century of the United States of America, and I have no hesitancy in saying to you I think it is in good hands, because if you will serve with conscience and your capacity and with the same devotion and consecration with which you defended the flag in France, I know this will be a constructive and forward contribution to the good and the welfare of the United States of America.

"I am happy to greet you. I like, as a Marionite, to see that the visiting members of the Legion have come to join us in our centennial. It gives me the opportunity to speak to the Legion of Ohio and to give you my greetings in an official capacity and to wish you the best that can come to men who have offered all on the altar of their country."

General Pershing in his opening remarks greeted the legionnaires as, "Comrades of the World War." He said:

"It is a very great pleasure at any time to meet American Legion men who served under my command and those who served in this country preparing to go over. I'd feel remiss if I missed an opportunity to greet you, if only to say, hello. The American Legion means a great deal and if the members live up to the Legion creed they will maintain the highest standard of citizenship ever attained by any nation.

"Each generation inherits responsibilities greater than those of the generation preceding it and you should take up your duties

with great energy and devotion. I am as sure, Mr. President, they will fulfill their duties as citizens as I was when I ordered them into the Argonne, that, by their efforts, they would bring success to the allies."

Hanford McNider, commander of the American Legion, said in part:

"We can well understand the high pride Marion must feel in the celebration of its one hundredth birthday—not only from its splendid history, from the service of its men and women to the country in our days of need, but in having given to the Nation the chief executive, to have your love and high regard for this great American shared by all the world. It is fine that he can come back to you from the pressure and responsibility of the highest office in the world, still your friend and neighbor to celebrate, as a private citizen, the birthday of his 'home town.'

"After all it is to these home towns that still hold some of the spirit of the pioneers who founded them rather than to the larger center where we must always look for real America and things American—for the leadership to carry on all those principles our forefathers laid down for us, the principles we like to call American. It is the inspiration from the people of the home town that makes the American who serves his country in peace as well as in war give his best. You know how your faith and confidence inspired the men who went out in '17 and '18. Those of us who had the privilege of serving overseas, and when I say that I bear no slight to the man who did not get over, for in the American Legion it is the spirit that put a man into his country's service that counts and not the circumstances over which he had no control which followed his enlistment, but those of us who saw this average American boy of yours in action came back with a new kind of fire inside of us, a new kind of patriotism and a new realization of what it meant to be an American citizen. Your boy, your neighbor's boy, the lad who works for you and whom you pass on the street every day without giving a second thought to, turned out under the pressure of a heavy fighting to be as splendid a hero as the world has ever known.

"All America can well congratulate on its centenary, the city of Marion, the home of the president of the United States. You told us that this man whom you knew and trusted, lived with and loved, could lead the Nation well in these difficult days back on the road to national confidence and prosperity. In that, as I am sure in all your hundred years of constructive endeavor, Marion has promised, Marion has delivered."

Others who participated in the program were Brigadier General John R. McQuigg, Charles S. Darlington, State Commander, and Captain Eddie Rickenbacker.

Immediately following the speaking program the World War Veterans present were regaled with a barbecue.

The final program and a fitting climax to all that had gone before in this centennial celebration was staged at the fairgrounds in the evening of the Fifth of July.

Amid the vari-colored scenic lights and witnessed by a vast throng which included President and Mrs. Harding, and members of the presidential party, "The Building of Marion," an historical pageant by Eleanor M. Freeland, depicting the stages of development since the founding of Marion one hundred years ago, was given by a cast of several hundred under the auspices of the Marion County Federation of Women's Clubs at the fairgrounds last evening. The treaty with the Delaware Indians for the purchase of the land owned, the choosing of Marion as the county seat, the escape of the negro slave, "Black Bill," a patriotic meeting during the Civil War, President Harding addressing the Washington peace conference, and an old time singing school, were all depicted during the pageant. The pageant was presented on the race track in front of the grandstand, with a specially constructed background of trees and walls.

## THE STORY OF A FLAG

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BY GENERAL J. WARREN KEIFER

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[At the annual meeting of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society General J. Warren Keifer presented a flag and told the story of its capture by the Confederates and its return to him. The story as he related it was full of thrilling interest and brought forth frequent applause from the audience. The flag is now one of the prized possessions of the Society. In response to a special request General Keifer has furnished the story of the flag which is herewith printed in full.—*Editor.*]

This is an emblematic United States flag of 1863, with thirty-four stars thereon, representing the then number of states in the United States and with the usual number of stripes thereon. It was carried in a number of battles by the Union forces prior to its capture by the Confederate forces and its recapture as hereinafter stated.

At a critical period in the Civil War in 1863 General Robert E. Lee moved his large formidable Confederate army from its location north of Richmond, Virginia, for the invasion of the North, with the purpose of capturing Washington and transferring the seat of war to the loyal states. His recent success in holding back the army of the Potomac, under General Joseph Hooker, in its attempts to take the Confederate capital, Richmond, led him and Jefferson Davis and his cabinet to undertake the campaign.

There was then in the Shenandoah Valley, Virginia, mainly at Winchester, about twenty miles south of Mar-

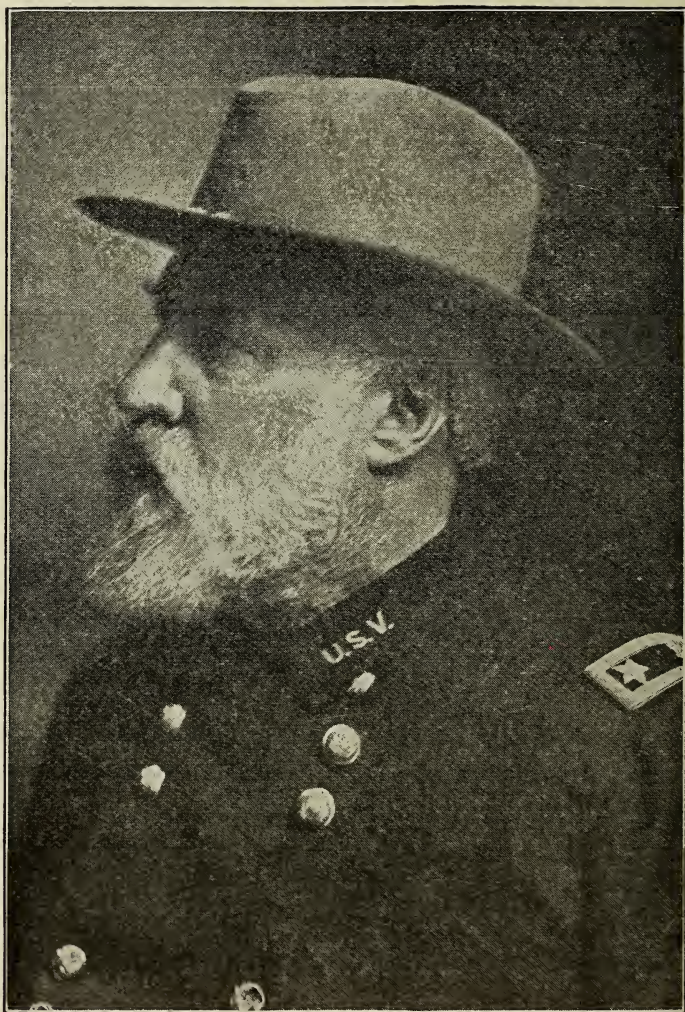


tinsburg, a Union force under Major General Robert H. Milroy, numbering about seven thousand men of all arms. Milroy's command was no part of the Army of the Potomac, then commanded by Major General Joseph Hooker, but was in the Middle Department, commanded by Major General Robert C. Schenck, whose headquarters were then at Baltimore, Maryland.

General Lee's army, consisting of about ninety thousand men of all arms, moved northward in force east of the Blue Ridge, passed Washington into Maryland; and General R. S. Ewell, commanding one wing of General Lee's army, was moved, about June 10, 1863, from the vicinity of Culpeper Courthouse, with about thirty thousand men, through Front Royal into the Shenandoah Valley, with instruction to capture Milroy's forces at Winchester, and then move northward to unite with Lee's main army.

I, as Senior Colonel (110th O. V. I.), commanded a brigade of four Ohio regiments under General Milroy, with headquarters on the heights immediately west of the town of Winchester, including a formidable fort on the heights, over which the Stars and Stripes were kept during daylight. The fort contained heavy artillery and, when in danger of attack, a limited number of infantry soldiers. I was also in charge of the outer pickets and Union scouting parties on the roads leading from Winchester to and through Front Royal and Strasburg to the southward.

General Milroy's headquarters were in Winchester. I reported in person, about midnight of June 12, 1863, to General Milroy that I had acquired reliable information that a large body of Lee's Confederate Army was coming by way of Front Royal into the Shenandoah



GENERAL J. WARREN KEIFER  
*Major-General in the War with Spain*

## SKETCH OF GENERAL J. WARREN KEIFER

From "*Who's Who in America*"

KEIFER, J. WARREN, born in Bethel Township, Clark County, Ohio, January 30, 1835, the son of Joseph and Mary (Smith) Keifer; educated at Antioch College; married Eliza Stout of Springfield, Ohio, March 22, 1860. In law practice at Springfield, Ohio, since January 12, 1858; president of Lagonda National Bank since 1873. Major of the 3rd Ohio Infantry, April 27, 1861; Lieutenant-Colonel February 12, 1862; Colonel of the 110th Ohio Infantry, September 30, 1862; Brevetted; Brigadier-General of Volunteers, October 19, 1864, "for gallant and meritorious service in battles of Opequan, Fisher's Hill and Middletown, Virginia." Major-General of Volunteers, April 9, 1865, for same, during campaign ending with surrender of General Lee; wounded four times; honorably mustered out, June 27, 1865; appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the 26th U. S. Infantry, November 30, 1866, but declined; Major-General of Volunteers, June 9, 1898-May 12, 1899, War with Spain. Member of Ohio Senate, 1868-9; delegate-at-large to the National Republican Convention, 1876, delegate, 1908; member of 45th-48th Congresses (1877-85) and 59th-61st Congresses (1905-11), seventh Ohio district; speaker U. S. House of Representatives, 47th Congress. Trustee of Ohio Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home 1870-8, 1903-4; trustee of Antioch College since 1873. National member of Perry's Victory Centennial Commission, 1911-13. Life Member Interparliamentary Peace Conference of the World, Paris, 1913. Member of G. A. R. (department commander 1868-70, vice commander in chief 1871-2), Military Order Loyal Legion, (commander, Ohio Commandery, 1903-4); Spanish War Veterans (an organizer, first commander in chief, 1900-1); Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society life member; trustee 1922—. *Author*: *Slavery and Four Years of War*, 1900.

Valley to capture his command on its movement northward, and I then appealed to Milroy to forthwith evacuate Winchester and retreat to Martinsburg or Harper's Ferry, Virginia. Milroy refused vehemently to listen to my appeal or to believe that any force other than scouting cavalry was being sent into the Valley and they only to frighten him with his command to evacuate it.

As early as the 11th of June Colonel Donn Piatt, General Schenck's chief of staff, after inspecting the post at Winchester, wired Milroy to immediately take steps to move his command to Harper's Ferry. This led Milroy to wire General Schenck that he had "sufficient force to hold the place, etc.", which led Schenck on June 12 to practically suspend Colonel Piatt's order. Not until June 14 did the authorities at Washington become satisfied that Milroy's forces were in danger of capture and on that date President Lincoln dispatched General Schenck thus:

"Get Milroy from Winchester to Harper's Ferry if possible. He will be 'gobled up' if he remains, if he is not already past salvation."

On the 13th of June, I, with my brigade, under orders from General Milroy, met, fought and held back the advance of Ewell's troops south of Winchester, and again on the 14th of June I fought a portion of the enemy on and near the Romney Road, but at night the Union troops were pushed back mainly to the heights west of Winchester, and all Ewell's forces were fast surrounding Winchester and the principal fort on the heights.

Milroy called at night a council of war and the general view expressed was that retreat was impossible and



surrender must take place when morning came. My opinion was not called for, but I volunteered to say that I could start that night, avoiding roads and the enemy, and escape with my command by mountain roads over Apple Pie Ridge and safely reach Maryland. This led General Milroy to order a retreat northward on the Martinsburg Pike with a hope that the Confederate line of investment could be there broken so as to let the infantry and cavalry through. The artillery, trains, camp equipage and supplies were to be abandoned.

My request to be allowed to escape with my command led General Milroy to assign me to lead and command the advance of his army on its retreat towards Martinsburg, and I can only say here that after a most sanguinary battle near Stephenson's Depot and on the Martinsburg Road, about five miles north of Winchester, principally fought by troops under my command, Johnson's Confederate Division was defeated and the Union forces generally succeeded in retreating to Harper's Ferry and other places north, but, of course, without artillery, trains, tents, camp equipage and supplies, leaving also the wounded and sick in the hospital.

And now for the history of the flag.

There was one principal fort on the heights, already mentioned, on which my command was encamped, consisting, in large part, of Ohio troops, the 110th O. V. I., commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Otho H. Binkley, and the 122nd O. V. I., commanded by Colonel William H. Ball. Lieutenant-Colonel Moses M. Granger of the 122nd was prominently present. The fort was a strong one, well supplied with guns and artillerists, but too small for even a considerable part of my command.

The decision to retreat, as already stated, made it

important to leave the investing forces ignorant of its evacuation of Winchester as long as possible, in order to delay pursuit.

So, before retreating and about 2 A. M., June 15, 1863, the now memorable flag was, under my direction, raised high on the pole on the fort and left to indicate its occupancy. After daylight the Confederates approached the fort slowly only to find it empty and undefended.

They captured it triumphantly, and the flag as a trophy of war.

A spirited Union girl, Annie Jackson, a Quaker by birth, residing with her family in Winchester, and some other loyal persons, discovered the Confederates had taken down the flag and boxed it up for shipment as a trophy to Richmond. She succeeded in breaking open the box containing the flag and removed it therefrom and hid it from discovery when its recapture was discovered, sometimes wearing it under her outer skirt.

Annie Jackson was a friend and acquaintance of myself and my wife who had visited me while I was stationed in the Valley.

It will be remembered that the flag was captured only fifteen days before the battle of Gettysburg, June 1-3, 1863, the turning decisive battle of the Civil War.

Annie Jackson married, February 15, 1864, Jonah L. Reese, and afterward lived in the West, but she is now a widow, resident of Winchester, Virginia. The flag was put for a time for safe keeping into the hands of Colonel William S. Starr, of the 9th West Virginia Infantry, who, for certain identification put his name on it. The first time the flag was unfurled after its

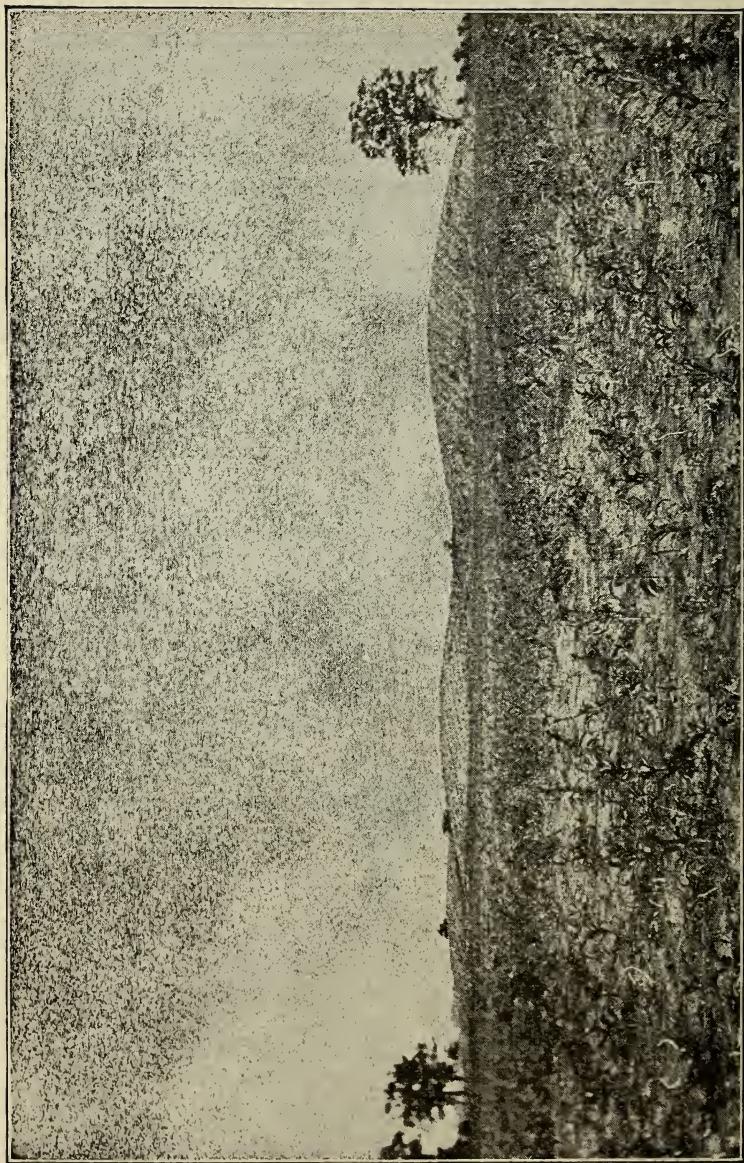
capture and recapture was in Cincinnati, Ohio, when Honorable Ben Butterworth was elected to Congress.

Mrs. Annie Jackson Reese recently, by mail, advised me that she was in possession of the flag and offered to send it to me for preservation or for such distribution as I might think best. It was most thankfully accepted and reached me about January 7, 1922, in fairly good condition.

It is now presented to the great and patriotic Archæological and Historical Society of Ohio for its care and preservation.







VIEW OF MOUND CITY GROUP AFTER BECOMING A PART OF CAMP SHERMAN BUT BEFORE BUILDINGS WERE CON-  
STRUCTED UPON THE SITE.



# EXPLORATION OF THE MOUND CITY GROUP

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BY WILLIAM C. MILLS

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## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Probably no other American prehistoric earthwork has excited so great a degree of historic interest as the so-called Mound City group of Ross County, Ohio. Certainly, from the prehistoric viewpoint, it stands unsurpassed.

Through the partial examination of the group, in 1846, by Squier and Davis, and the publication of the report in *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley*, archæological circles throughout the world have been made acquainted with their remarkable finds and conclusions. So striking, indeed, were these results and so wide-spread the circulation of the report, published by the Smithsonian Institution, that *Ancient Monuments* became, and has remained to many persons, a classic contribution to knowledge of the great mound-building cultures of prehistoric American peoples. For many years the Mound City group and its contents continued to be considered as the *ne plus ultra* of Mound-builder achievement, and while subsequent explorers looked upon Squier and Davis' accomplishment as something to be striven for, there was in many quarters a feeling that the Mound City "finds" would never be equalled, much less surpassed. This sentiment was voiced by no less a personage than the late Professor Frederick W. Putnam, dean of American

archæologists when, in a conversation regarding archæological exploration in Ohio, he declared to the writer that, in his opinion, the Mound City finds would continue to stand as unique. A few years later, at the very time when this Society's survey was removing from the Tremper mound, in Scioto County, a collection of specimens which not only duplicated the finest artifacts taken from the Mound City group, but actually excelled them both as to quality and numbers, work was brought to a halt momentarily by the arrival of a telegram. This telegram brought the sad news of Professor Putnam's death. That he did not live to learn of the Tremper find which, even in his great optimism, he was unable to foresee, will always remain a matter of regret to the writer. The possibilities of archæological research in Ohio had been under-estimated.

The rich finds of the Tremper mound naturally were most gratifying, particularly as the Mound City specimens had been taken out of this country, their loss to be felt keenly by a later and more appreciative public. But the exploration of the Tremper mound furnished something more than replacement of the loss of the finest examples of Mound-builders' art discovered up to that time. It furnished ideas and information which, added to the knowledge already accumulated through earlier recent exploration, could be brought intelligibly and logically to bear upon the deductions and conclusions of Squier and Davis with regard to the Mound City earthworks. The Tremper mound, as judged by its exploration, and comparison with Squier and Davis' report, was analogous in all its important aspects with the great Ross County group, and it was felt that a complete examination of the latter would furnish evi-

dence justifying the same or similar explanation as to its construction, purposes and usage.

Squier and Davis, it must be remembered, worked as pioneers. There were available to them no data on which to base an interpretation of evidences appearing to them in the Ross County group. It was but natural, perhaps, that some of these interpretations should be subjected to question after prolonged explorations had furnished firmer bases of fact. The more important of these conclusions were their conviction that the builders of the Mound City group practiced human sacrifice; that, from this practice, they should be in some way rather directly related to the dominant cultures in Mexico and Central America; that certain basin-like receptacles constructed upon the floors of the mounds were the "altars" on which human sacrifices were made; and various minor impressions, such as their belief that the so-called stratified mounds were not used as places of burial.

Although Squier and Davis explicitly state in their report that their explorations comprised all of the 24 or more mounds of the Mound City group; and although the work of constructing the great military encampment at Camp Sherman, where the group is located, had obliterated all trace of at least one-half of this original number of mounds, our survey, in the spring of 1920, undertook the final and complete examination of what remained, feeling that even this remnant still represented one of the more important of Ohio's prehistoric earthworks, not alone of interest as a monument of our pre-Columbian predecessors, but as of historic import as well. The results of this examination are set forth in the pages which follow.

The writer is deeply indebted to the War Department for permission to carry on the explorations within Camp Sherman, and particularly to General S. D. Sturgis and the various officers stationed at Camp Sherman for helpful cooperation and personal interest in the work; to many citizens of Ross County and Chillicothe, especially Mr. Albert C. Spetnagel, Mr. Charles M. Haynes and Mr. Frank Grubb, for personal interest and assistance at all times. To my staff of explorers and engineers, particularly to Mr. H. C. Shetrone, I am under many obligations for their untiring efforts throughout the two seasons devoted to the examination of the group.

## THE MOUND CITY GROUP OF EARTHWORKS

### SQUIER AND DAVIS' MAP AND DESCRIPTION

The map of the Mound City group, from the survey of Squier and Davis at the time of the explorations therein, is here reproduced, as Fig. 1.

Their summary description of the group, from "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley" (Smithsonian Institution, 1848) is as follows:

"Situated on the left bank of the Scioto River, four miles north of the town of Chillicothe. The enclosure, designated from the great number of mounds within its walls, 'Mound City,' is in many respects the most remarkable in the Scioto Valley. Through the generous kindness of Henry Shriver, Esq., upon whose estate it is situated, the mounds were all permitted to be investigated; and the work will, in consequence, be often referred to in the course of this volume, particularly when we come to speak of 'mounds.'

"In outline it is nearly square, with rounded angles, and consists of a simple embankment, between three and four feet high, unaccompanied by a ditch. Its site is the beautiful level of the second terrace, and it is still covered with the primitive forest.



"The first and most striking feature in connection with this work is the unusual number of mounds which it contains. There are no less than twenty-four within its walls. All of these, as above observed, have been excavated, and the principal ones found to contain *altars* and other remains, which put it beyond question that they were places of *sacrifice*, or of superstitious origin.

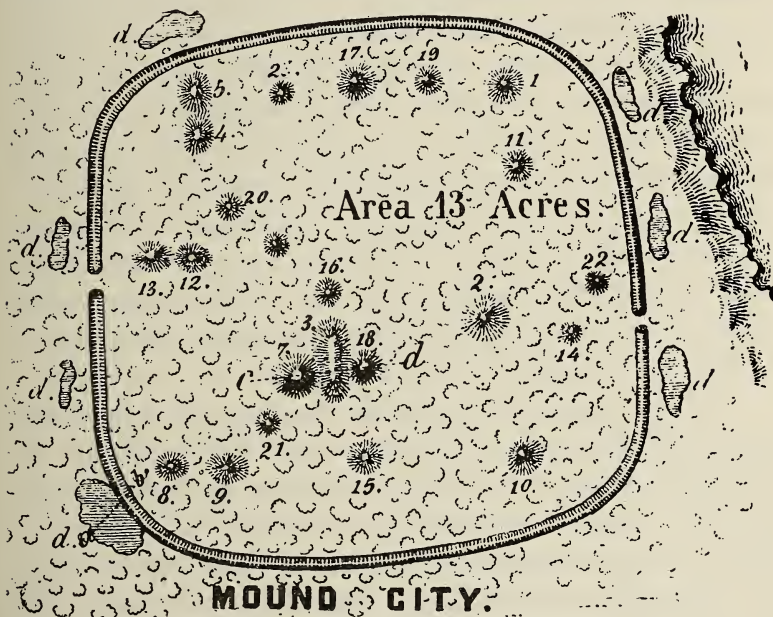


FIG. 1. Map of Mound City Group, after Squier & Davis.

"These mounds seem placed generally without design in respect to each other, although there is a manifest dependence between those composing the central group, and between those numbered 4 and 5 and 12 and 13. From the principal mound numbered 7 in the plan, after the fall of the leaves, a full view of every part of the work and of its enclosed mounds is commanded. This mound is seventeen feet high with a broad base nearly one hundred feet in diameter. The long mound, No. 3, is one hundred and forty feet long by eighty wide at the base, and ten feet in average height. Broad and deep pits, from which the earth for the construction of the mounds was taken, surround the work."

## RECENT ASPECT OF THE GROUP

At the time of the final exploration of Mound City, described in this report, the entire site was occupied by the United States army cantonment, Camp Sherman. Incident to the construction of this great camp, the grading of streets and drilling-grounds and the erection of barracks and other buildings resulted in unavoidable disturbance of the group. In a number of instances mounds were completely removed, the earth composing them being used for grading and filling, and any specimens they may have contained were thus lost or scattered among workmen. Others of the mounds fared less disastrously, being disturbed in part only, while one, at least — the great central mound of the group — suffered no damage whatever.

Of the total of 24 mounds recorded by Squier and Davis, in the above description, only 12 — one-half the original number — could be located or identified by the present survey. Several of the smaller of these, it is known, had completely disappeared under many years of cultivation of the land, while the remainder had been obliterated in the construction of the cantonment. What these mounds may have contained in the way of material evidence of their builders will never be known, and the only record of their existence is that of Squier and Davis. Mounds of which no trace remained are those numbered on their map as follows: 1, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 14, 16, 19, 20, 21 and 22.

The condition of the mounds remaining for final exploration was as follows: Mound number 2, practically one-half entirely obliterated, the remaining portion being graded off to within 6 inches of its base;

mound number 3, the elongate mound of the central unit, disturbed by extensive ramifications of camp plumbing system; mound number 7, intact, its removal having been forestalled by special intervention of the camp commander, at the solicitation of the Museum authorities; mound number 8, one-third graded off, to within a few inches of the base; mounds numbers 9 and 12, much disturbed by trenching for plumbing system; mound number 13, a part of one side graded off, disturbing the most important burial thereof; mounds numbers 15 and 17, very small structures, more or less disturbed by grading; mound number 18, about one-half graded down, but a considerable depth of soil left above the base; mound number 21, very low, slightly disturbed; and mound number 23, fully two-thirds removed, with no trace of floor remaining.

The mounds of the group which remained available for exploration were examined, not according to the numbers given them by Squier and Davis, but in the order suggested by convenience and conditions existing in the camp. Naturally, those mounds which had been partly demolished, particularly those having but a few inches of earth above their floors and thus more likely to be disturbed by curious persons, were examined without delay. Several others, which in part or entirely lay beneath barracks buildings, were left until, late in the autumn of 1921, the structures interfering with their examination were razed. It is interesting to note that in several mounds, notably numbers 8 and 13, where portions of the bases had been almost or quite exposed by grading, numerous specimens lay exposed to view, and although many persons constantly passed these sites, the objects escaped notice.

## EXAMINATION OF MOUND NUMBER 8

The incentive for beginning the present exploration of the Mound City group with mound number 8 was two-fold. In the first place, as noted above, a portion of the mound had been removed to within a few inches of the base, leaving at least one burial partly exposed and various artifacts within reach of the curious. Secondly, it was from this mound that Squier and Davis secured their noteworthy find of effigy pipes, upwards of 200 in number, and in connection with which they arrived at certain conclusions at seeming variance with later and more complete evidence in the same direction.

The report of Squier and Davis on mound number 8 follows:

"Fig. 37 (reproduced in Fig. 2) is a section of mound No. 8 in 'Mound City.' In the number and value of its relics, this mound far exceeds any hitherto explored. It is small in size, and in its structure exhibits nothing remarkable. It had but one sand stratum, the edges of which rested on the outer slopes of the altar, as shown in the section (Fig. 2). Between this

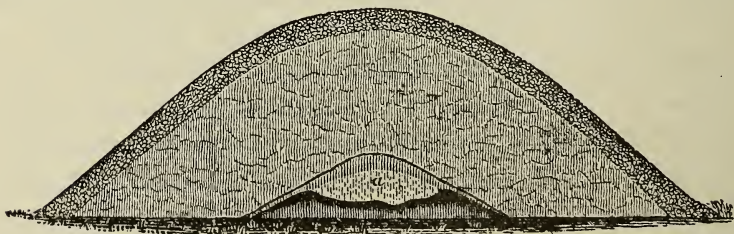


FIG. 2. Mound No. 8, after Squier & Davis.

stratum and the deposit in the basin occurred a layer a few inches thick, of burned loam. The altar itself, Fig. 38 (reproduced as Fig. 3) was somewhat singular, though quite regular in shape. In length it was six feet two inches, in width four feet. At the point indicated in the section was a depression of perhaps six inches below the general level of the basin."



"The deposit (a) in this altar was large. Intermixed with much ashes, were found not far from *two hundred* pipes, carved in stone, many pearl and shell beads, numerous discs, tubes, etc., of copper, and a number of other ornaments of copper, covered with silver, etc., etc. The pipes were much broken up, — some of them calcined by the heat, which had been sufficiently strong to melt copper, masses of which were found fused together in the center of the basin. A large number have nevertheless been restored, at the expense of much labor and no small amount of patience. They are mostly composed of a red porphyritic stone, somewhat resembling the pipe stone of the *Coteau des Prairies*, excepting that it is of great hardness and interspersed with small variously colored granules. The fragments of this material which had been most exposed to the heat were changed to a brilliant black color, resembling Egyptian marble. Nearly all the articles-carved in limestone, of which there had been a number, were calcined.

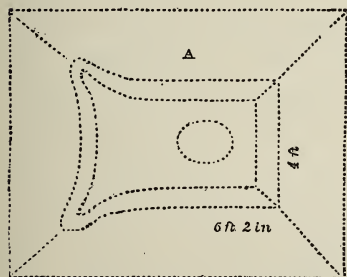


FIG. 3. Plan of "altar," Mound No. 8; after Squier & Davis.

"The bowls of most of the pipes are carved in miniature figures of animals, birds, reptiles, etc. All of them are executed with strict fidelity to nature, and with exquisite skill. Not only are the features of the various objects represented faithfully, but their peculiarities and habits are in some degree exhibited. The otter is shown in a characteristic attitude, holding a fish in his mouth; the heron also holds a fish; and the hawk grasps a

small bird in its talons, which it tears with its beak. The panther, the bear, the wolf, the beaver, the otter, the squirrel, the raccoon, the hawk, the heron, crow, swallow, buzzard, *paroquet*, *toucan*, and other indigenous and southern birds, — the turtle, the frog, toad, rattlesnake, etc., are recognized at first glance. But the most interesting and valuable in the list, are a number of sculptured human heads, no doubt faithfully representing the predominant physical features of the ancient people by whom they were made. We have this assurance in the minute accuracy of the other sculptures of the same date."

The great importance of mound number 8 will be evident to all who read the above report, as will also

the intense interest with which our later survey proceeded once more to uncover its mystic interior. The sentiment of members of the survey was that of treading upon hallowed ground; for here was a spot not only of widely known pre-historic importance, but, as a result of the activities of two noted pioneer explorers, of marked historic importance as well. It was, indeed, with feelings befitting the occasion that the present survey presumed to lay bare the stage where, more than three-quarters of a century ago, Squier and Davis' explorations revealed to the archæological world what has continued perhaps to be the most widely known tumulus of the great mound-building cultures of the Ohio valley.

While certain details of Squier and Davis' conclusions regarding mound number 8, its purposes and usages, seemed somewhat at variance with the cumulative evidence for the culture group as a whole, there was no predisposition to doubt the correctness of their observations, or rather the honesty of their deductions. At the time of their examination of the group, there were available almost no data on which they might base conclusions. It was felt, furthermore, that since their explorations of the several mounds of the Mound City group were but partial, as a rule simply covering the immediate centers of the mounds, that additional information was to be had through exhaustive examination. This information naturally would supplement, and might either confirm or modify, their original findings. Furthermore, it was hoped that the great central basin and its immediate surroundings would be found intact, and that, less its content of artifacts, of course, the present survey might see and examine it just as did its original explorers.

## BURIALS IN MOUND NUMBER 8

Burial number 1, of this mound, lay to the northwest of its center, in that part of the tumulus which had been graded off incidental to camp construction. The grading process had left but an inch or two of earth covering the burial, and subsequent rains had exposed its contents plainly to view. The grave, a slight depression upon the floor, contained the cremated bones of one individual, with which were 16 copper artifacts, consisting of breast-plates, ear-ornaments and pendants. These specimens were hammered and doubled together with the idea of destroying their intrinsic value—a proceeding customary where objects were placed in open graves, the idea being to preclude the possibility of their being stolen by derelict members of the tribe for personal use. This “killing” ceremony seems to have been widespread, and aside from the practical purpose served, may have carried with it something of the idea contained in the cremation ritual—the release of the spiritual essence of the object. In the instance of incombustible artifacts, the breaking or mutilating of the object may have served as did cremation with those which were combustible. That this procedure was anything more than a common sense precaution, however, is not indicated definitely, for in the more pretentious burials of the mounds of this group, where the cremated remains immediately were covered by a primary protecting mound, artifacts as a rule were deposited entire. The only definite inference to be drawn is that broken and mutilated artifacts placed with the dead served equally well the purpose of perfect specimens.

Burial number 2 lay to the southwest of center, occupying a basin-like depression in the floor, one foot deep. With the cremated remains were found three imitation eagle claws, made of copper; a long slender awl of copper; several large shell disks, perforated; many small shell disks; beads of shell and pearl; about 100 perforated canine teeth of the elk; several imitation elk teeth; perforated bear canines; and imitation canines of the bear and the mountain lion.

Grave number 3 was similar in construction to number 2. It contained the cremated remains of one individual, with which were placed several flake knives and the flint core from which they were chipped; two slate gorgets, one perforated; fragments of pottery-ware; a number of perforated elk canines; five copper beads; and a necklace of claw-bones of the bear and the gray wolf.

Burials 5, 7 and 8 all lay toward the south side of the mound, were deposited upon the floor without special preparation, and contained no artifacts.

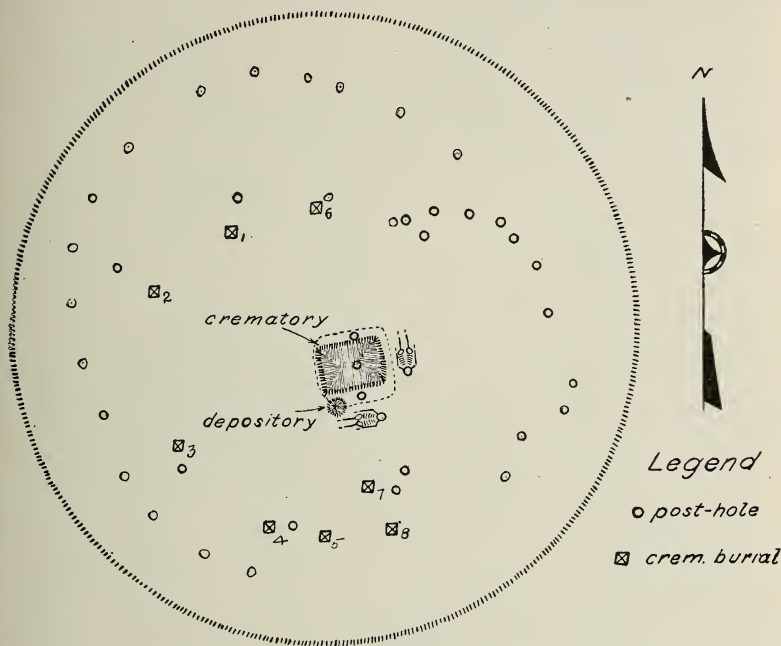
Burial number 6 was placed directly north of the center of the mound, in a small basin-like receptacle on the floor. With the cremated remains was a copper plate, 6 inches long and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide. This plate was extremely thin and fragile, and was removed in fragments.

#### THE CENTRAL DEPOSIT

Attention is directed to Fig. 4, in which is shown a plan of the floor of mound number 8. Besides the burials above enumerated, and the post-molds outlining the circumference of the pre-structure of the site, there will be noted the great central basin from which Squier



and Davis report taking their remarkable find of effigy pipes and other artifacts. Contiguous to this basin there will be noted two skeletons, constituting uncre-



*PLAN OF FLOOR*  
*MOUND #8*  
*MOUND CITY GROUP*

SCALE IN FEET  
 10 8 6 4 2 0 5 10 15 20

FIG. 4. Plan of the floor of Mound No. 8, made by our survey.

mated intrusive burials, to be commented upon later in this report.

The dotted line surrounding the main basin shows the extent of Squier and Davis' excavation in this mound — an area approximately 8 feet square. The

dimensions of the basin as given by Squier and Davis were found to be essentially correct, although their outline drawing showing its form (Fig. 3) is somewhat misleading. Instead of being a peculiarly exact geometric figure, the basin was found to be of the usual rectangular pattern in which the angles of the corners at its east end, instead of being sharply defined, were smoothed and rounded depressions.

In two respects the report of Squier and Davis regarding the deposit in this mound is misleading: The reader gets the impression, first, that the entire deposit of pipes, copper and other objects and ashes, representing presumably a sacrifice, was found within the basin proper, or, as they term it, the altar; second, that this great deposit had been burned in place, where found, the heat having been sufficiently strong to melt copper, "masses of which were found fused together in the center of the basin."

As to the first of these suggestions, it will be noted by reference to the floor plan of the mound, Fig. 4, and to the photograph of the basin, Fig. 5, that the present survey found, at the southwest corner of the "altar", and entirely outside of it, a distinct receptacle or depository, not mentioned by Squier and Davis. This depository was in the form of an upright mold, rounded horizontally, and extending vertically from the floor of the mound to the height of 20 inches. The diameter of this mold at the bottom was 18 inches, with a gradual lessening toward its top. In a word, this mold was exactly that which would result from a filled bag being set upright on the floor and covered over with earth, the bag and contents later being removed and the arched earth retaining its form and imprint.



FIG. 5. Photograph of crematory and depository, from which Spuier & Davis secured their large collection of pipes.



It will be noted that the dotted line of the floor plan shows that Squier and Davis' excavation intersected this mold, disclosing its contents and permitting their removal, but left intact, in the body of the mound, the greater part of the opening. However, sufficient of the original contents remained to show their character. More than 50 fragments of pipes, many beads of pearl and shell and a number of crystals of galena were taken from the bottom and around the edges of this mold, none of which showed contact with fire. However, associated with these objects were several fragments of a mineral, resembling copper, which unmistakably had been fused. Tests, however, showed this mineral to be a copper arsenide, probably whitneyite,\* a product of the Michigan copper region. The same mineral, in large pieces, was found in mound number 13, where it was associated with galena.

In view of the fact that the rectangular basins, termed by Squier and Davis "altars", but now generally recognized as crematories, were seldom used as depositories of burials or artifacts; and since such deposits often were made alongside and quite near to the basins, as in the Tremper mound, and in mounds 13 and 7 of the Mound City group, the evidence for mound number 8 is that the great find of pipes and doubtless many others of the accompanying specimens were taken from this supplemental depository, and not from the central basin.

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\* Samples of the fused metal from the deposit were submitted to Professor William J. McGaughey of the department of mineralogy, Ohio State University, for identification. They were found to be whitneyite or closely allied copper arsenide mineral.



## THE SO-CALLED ALTAR

Consideration of the basin itself strengthens this idea, and brings us to the second supposition of Squier and Davis — namely, that an extensive cremation had been effected on the “altar”, the heat from which was so intense as to fuse the accompanying artifacts of copper. In the “altar”, or crematory, as in the case of the supplementary depository, it was fortunate that no mutilation had resulted from former examination. As with other mounds of the group, the excavation had been immediately filled, in accordance with requirements of the owner of the land, thus enabling our survey to view in a very satisfactory manner those portions of the floor uncovered by the early explorers.

The crematory basin was found to be devoid of contents, with the exception of a few charred human bones and a fragment of a copper object, closely attached to the floor of the basin through corrosion, the original mass of ashes and artifacts having been removed, of course, upon first examination. However, a glance at the basin, once more exposed to view, was sufficient to show that the supposedly intense sacrificial or crematorial fires of Squier and Davis never had occurred therein. As so often noted in the crematory basins of other mounds of the group, this one had undergone extensive repairs. Continued use of these basins as crematories, with alternate heat and moisture, resulted in all instances in damage in the way of checking and cracking. In this particular basin, this cracking had been very pronounced, the separation being as much as one inch in width. These cracks, as well as portions of the floor which had been altogether broken away, were

neatly repaired by filling with puddled clay, bluish-drab in color. The fresh clay used in these repairs was entirely unburned, and showed no contact whatever with fire. In view of this fact, it becomes clear that cremation or burning of the deposit found in this basin had occurred elsewhere, possibly in the adjoining mound, number 9, which appears to have been supplemental to number 8 in purpose.

#### ULTIMATE CONCLUSIONS

The evidence, then, as to mound number 8 and its central deposit, as interpreted by this survey, is as follows: After cremation elsewhere, probably in the adjacent mound, number 9, the human remains were brought to mound number 8, and, together with their accompanying artifacts of copper and other objects, were deposited within the basin formerly serving as a crematory. In close proximity to this basin and its contents, were then deposited the pipes, beads, and so forth, in their bag-like container, while over this offering and the basin alike was heaped the covering and protecting mound of earth. The fact that the bag container was not destroyed in the burning of the structure enclosing the site of the mound, but retained its form and position when the earth was heaped over it, indicates one of two things; either the structure was burned prior to the placing of the deposit, or the fire incident to the burning did not reach and consume it.

The finding of the copper arsenide, fused together by heat, mingled with the unburned fragments of pipes, beads and so forth in the supplemental depository, shows unmistakably that the fusing and burning had been accomplished prior to the depositing of the speci-

mens where found. The copper arsenide mineral, covered with the carbonate of copper, through proximity and oxidation, might easily be mistaken for copper; hence it is apparent that the fused copper reported by Squier and Davis was in reality the copper arsenide or whitneyite. The fact that a degree of heat in excess of 2300 Fahrenheit is required to melt copper makes it improbable that the open fire of the cremation ceremony would result in fusing that metal, as Squier and Davis believed had been done; while the copper arsenide, with a melting point of approximately one-fourth that of copper, would readily be affected by the degree of heat generated in an ordinary open fire.

## MOUND NUMBER 2

Formerly very large, mound number 2 had been seriously disturbed by the construction of a thoroughfare through Camp Sherman, the eastern one-half being entirely obliterated, and the remainder graded off to within 6 inches of its base. This remaining portion of floor gave evidence of the importance of the mound as a whole, since it contained 18 burials and two crematories. A large basin, or "altar", as they termed it, is described by Squier and Davis, which, since its dimensions do not correspond with either of those found by the present examination, must have been located within the eastern one-half of the mound. Their description is as follows:

"Fig. 31 (reproduced in Fig. 6) exhibits a section of mound No. 2 in the plan of 'Mound City.' This mound is ninety feet in diameter at the base by seven and a half feet high, being remarkably broad and flat. A shaft six feet square was sunk from the apex with the following results:

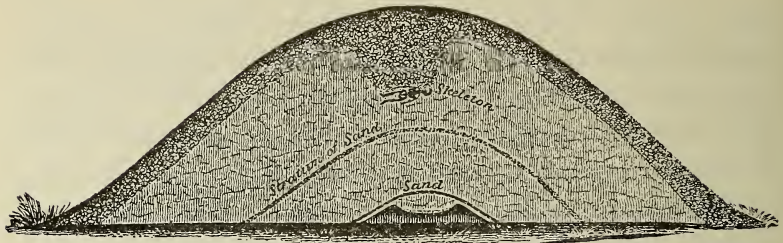


FIG. 6. Mound No. 2, after Squier &amp; Davis.

1st. Occurred the usual layer of gravel and pebbles, one foot thick.

2nd. A layer of earth, three feet thick.

3rd. A thin stratum of sand.

4th. Another layer of earth two feet thick.

5th. Another stratum of sand, beneath which, and separated by a few inches of earth, was —

6th. The altar, Fig. 32, (reproduced in Fig. 7).

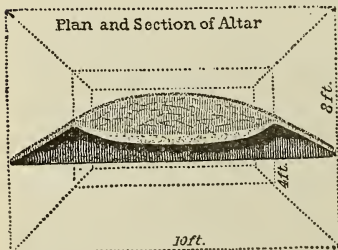


FIG. 7. Plan and section of altar, Mound No. 2, after Squier & Davis.

“This altar was a parallelogram of the utmost regularity, as shown in the plan and section. At its base, it measures ten feet in length by eight in width; at the top, six feet by four. Its height was eighteen inches, and the dip of the basin nine inches. Within the basin was a deposit of fine ashes, unmixed with charcoal, three inches thick, much compacted by the weight of the superincumbent earth. Amongst the ashes were some fragments of pottery, also a few shell and pearl beads. Enough of the pottery was recovered to restore a beautiful vase, for a drawing and description of which the reader is referred to the paragraphs on *Pottery*. The second or lower sand stratum in this, as in several other instances, rested directly upon the outer sides of the altar.”

The crematories located in the section of floor remaining for final examination were smaller in every way than those above described.



A plan of the remaining portion of the floor of mound number 2 is shown as Fig. 8. From the scant depth of undisturbed earth above this floor, from 4 to 6 inches, it will be apparent that any pretentious grave of the platform type that may have existed thereon would have shared the fate of those contained in the portion entirely eradicated.

Examination of the floor remnant was begun on the south side, where but 4 inches of earth remained. With graves numbers 1, 2, 3 and 7, lying toward the south, no artifacts were found, the burials consisting solely of the usual charred bones placed upon the floor without preparation. Burial number 4 contained a necklace of 47 pearl beads, undamaged by fire and fairly well preserved. Burials 5 and 6 were similar to the first-named and devoid of specimens.

Crematory number 1 lay about 10 feet to the north of the burials numbered 5 and 6, and is shown as Fig. 9. It measured 6 feet in length, 4 feet in width and 6 inches in depth. Ten fragments of pottery-ware and a small quantity of charred human bones remained in the basin from cremation. This crematory was well made from puddled clay, and although its surface was much cracked it had never been mended.

Crematory number 2 (Fig. 8) was located about 4 feet directly north of basin number 1. It contained no cremated remains, but a quantity of broken pottery-ware taken from it proved to be, upon restoration, a single vessel very similar in type and decoration to a vessel taken from this same mound by Squier and Davis. The vessel is described under the head of pottery. It will be noted that mound number 2 contained three crematories — one found by Squier and Davis and two

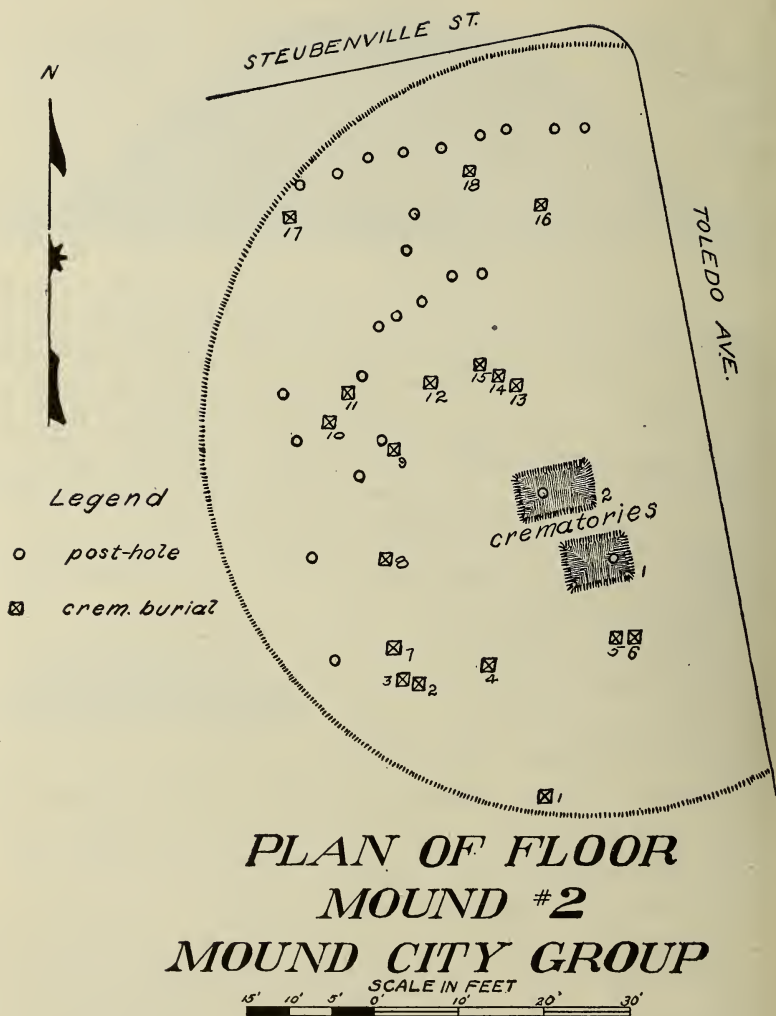


FIG. 8. Plan of remnants of Mound No. 2, made by our survey.

by the final survey. This is not unusual, since mounds numbers 12 and 21 each were found to contain a similar number of such basins.

As the examination was carried through to the northward, burials 8 to 15 were disclosed. All were placed simply upon the well-defined floor, without artifacts. Burial number 16, placed about 25 feet directly north of crematory number 2, was of especial interest,



FIG. 9. Photograph of Crematory No. 1 of Mound No. 2.

in that it contained a number of copper specimens. The cremated remains were placed upon two large plates of mica, laid flat upon the floor, and measuring 15 by 11 inches and 16 by 9 inches respectively, each  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch thick. These plates were cut into form and rounded at the ends. Upon them, and associated with the charred human remains, were ten copper pendants, upwards of 6 inches in length, ovate in form with two perforations at the larger ends for attachment; 22

effigy teeth of the alligator, made of copper; 12 copper button-shaped objects, filled with colored clay; 35 perforated canine teeth of the elk; 12 marine shells (*olivella*) perforated for use as beads; 330 pearl and shell beads, forming a large necklace. Near the edge of this burial was the point of a large obsidian spear, vertically placed, the base of which had been broken off and carried away by scrapers used in razing the mound.

Burial number 17 lay some distance to the west of number 16, and occupied a prepared grave made by excavating a basin in the floor to a depth of 12 inches and with a diameter of 18 inches. With the burial were placed a number of thin sheets of mica, several barrel-shaped shell beads and a miniature platform pipe, quite similar in form to the larger pipes found in other mounds of the group. This pipe, less than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length, is unusual in having the stem-hole drilled partly in each end of the platform, toward the bowl.

Burial number 18 was found near the northern edge of the mound, just within the line of post-holes marking the outer circumference of the structure. It was placed upon the floor and was accompanied by a few shell beads.

The destruction of mound number 2 as a result of grading operations for the camp is most regrettable, since several fine graves are reported by the superintendent in charge of the work at the time to have been destroyed, and a number of unusual specimens appropriated by workmen and onlookers.



## MOUND NUMBER 13

Squier and Davis make no mention of having examined mound number 13, aside from their general statement that all the mounds of the group were explored by their survey. The present survey, however, found no evidence of their work in this mound, so readily discernible in others of the group in which they had operated. The work of examining this mound, which was approximately 70 feet in diameter and 3 feet high, was greatly hampered by a large barracks building, which covered all excepting its western margin. The clearance of the building above the top of the mound was but 6 inches, thus affording a working space of only  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet. The margin extending beyond the building had been graded away to within a few inches of the base line, while workmen, for reasons unascertained, had cut away a portion of the mound extending from the outer edge of the building to a point several feet eastward, or beneath the barracks, throwing the earth outside. In so doing, while the removal of earth had not reached to the base of the mound, a grave or deposit of artifacts had been disturbed, objects from which were found scattered upon and through the displaced earth just outside the building. Among these objects were copper ear-ornaments, perforated and cut teeth, broken pipes, plates of mica and, lying upon the crest of the mound at the top of the cut, beneath the edge of the building, two large copper breast-plates, where apparently they had been placed by the workmen who uncovered them. The only further disturbance of the mound was that incident to the set-

ting of a large post, supporting the building, at a point near the center of the tumulus.

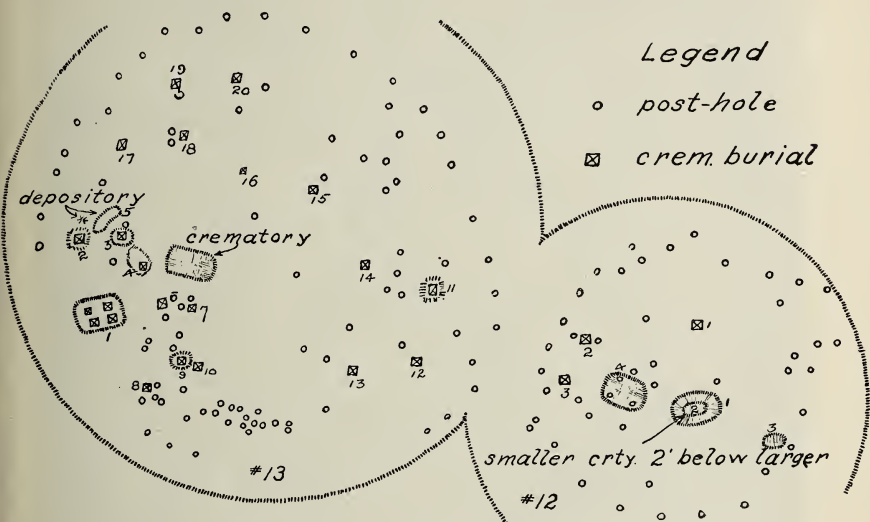
Examination was begun outside the building where the exposed margin had been partly graded down, and where the earth from beneath the building had been thrown. By the use of a large screen, many additional specimens, including ornaments, beads, broken pipes and objects of copper, were secured from this disturbed earth.

#### THE GREAT MICA GRAVE

As the work of excavation neared the edge of the building, evidences of a grave became apparent. This proved to be a large and important depository, lined with sheets of mica and containing four cremated burials. The location of this depository will be noted in the floor plan of the mound, shown in Fig. 10. The dimensions of this peculiar receptacle, which was rectangular in form, were 7 feet long and  $6\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide, measuring from center to center of the oval ridge forming its sides and ends. The entire surface of the depository, as well as the ridges forming its circumference, were covered with large sheets of mica, in size from 6 by 6 inches to 16 by 14 inches. A photograph of this multiple grave, or depository, with its splendor of mica, is shown in Fig. 11. Two of the four burials contained artifacts; with one was placed a copper head-shield, 11 inches in length, made to fit the head helmet-fashion, while another contained a circular mica object, one foot in diameter, presumably used as a mirror.

The ridge forming the sides of this depository were found to be made up of earth filled with carbonaceous matter, and broken and perfect artifacts. Among these

latter were more than 100 pieces of pipes; many pearl and shell beads; perforated animal canine teeth; large quantities of galena crystals, aggregating more than 25 pounds in weight; large pieces of whitneyite, weighing as much as three pounds each; perforated sharks' teeth;



## PLAN OF FLOOR MOUNDS 12 & 13 MOUND CITY GROUP

SCALE IN FEET  
15' 10' 5' 0 10' 20' 30'

FIG. 10. Plan of the floor of Mounds 12 and 13.

awls of bone and of copper; and fragments of quartz and obsidian spear-points. Among the fragments of pipes and other broken objects, were found parts representing many entire objects and permitting of numerous gratifying restorations.





FIG. 11. Photograph of burial depository, No. 1, Mound 13; covered with sheets of mica.



This intentional mixing of artifacts with the soil used in constructing the grave, or depository, is interesting when compared with the proceeding employed in connection with another grave, soon to be described, in which the objects were broken and placed as a deposit alongside the burial.

The method of covering this pretentious depository with its four burials was most striking. Inside a line of posts, surrounding it, had been heaped a small primary mound of clay, 2 feet in height. Over the top and along the north side of this small mound had been placed a layer of fine sand, and upon this, in turn, a covering of plates of mica. A similar sand covering on the south side had slipped from above to its base, where it lay accumulated in a ridge-like formation.

#### OTHER IMPORTANT GRAVES

Directly north of depository number 1, at a distance of 8 feet, lay burial number 2. This was placed upon a prepared grave, the incinerated remains in its center and artifacts surrounding them. These consisted of two copper ear ornaments of the usual pattern; a large flint spear-point broken into several pieces, and three unusual and highly interesting copper plates, cut in the form of double-headed eagles.

Burial number 3 lay directly east of number 2, and occupied a raised platform extending about one inch above the floor. At its center were the cremated remains and around them the following objects: a large obsidian spear-point, 9 inches long and 4 inches broad; another obsidian spear, over 6 inches in length; a flint spear-point, 3 inches long; four copper ear ornaments of the usual type; six copper cone-like beads; six copper

tubular beads; five strips of copper, several inches in length, turned upon itself to form an edge-binder for fabric; a large copper head-dress made to represent a bear, and a small amount of woven fabric, evidently a part of the elaborate head-dress. The copper head-dress, representing the bear, is a unique specimen, in that the ears are ingeniously hinged to permit movement, while the legs are attached to the body by means of rivets.

Burial number 4, lying to the eastward, between numbers 1 and 3, was placed upon a low platform extending about 1 inch above the floor. The incinerated remains were placed at one end of this platform and the accompanying artifacts at the other. These comprised a large helmet-like head-dress of copper, together with three sets of imitation deer antlers of copper; and two effigy human hands, of copper, four inches in length. The imitation antlers, doubtless a part of the elaborate head-dress, were of three distinct kinds. One set, 9 inches long, were plain and slightly curved, without tines; a second set, about 6 inches in length, had the characteristic curves of true antlers, and each was supplied with three tines; while a third set, of about the same size and curvature, had four tines.

#### AN UNUSUAL DEPOSIT

The location designated as number 5, on the floor plan of mound number 13, was an unusual form of deposit, apparently having some relation to burials 2 and 3. This deposit, consisting of a mass of dark earth intermixed with much carbonaceous matter and containing numerous artifacts, occupied a space about 5 feet long, 2 feet wide and 12 inches deep. Among the

objects taken from this deposit were perforated teeth of the shark, pearl, shell and bone beads; effigy turtles made of copper; small copper ornaments in the form of crosses; a curved knife of obsidian, three inches in length; large fragments of quartz and obsidian spears; effigy bear teeth; perforated canine teeth of the elk; cut shell ornaments; a large number of broken pipes, both plain and effigy types, a number of which were restored; and numerous fragments of pottery-ware, from which a fine vessel was pieced together.

Just west of this deposit, and directly north of burial number 2, was found an interesting cache of beads. This cache is a striking example of the ingenuity and perseverance of the inhabitants of the Mound City group, comprising, as it did, more than 5,000 exceptionally well formed and finely finished specimens. The beads are barrel-shaped, somewhat less than one-half inch in length, and are made from columella of marine shells. The material used, in many instances, was of extreme hardness, almost enamel-like in character; and in view of the difficulties it would present to primitive methods of workmanship, the unusually large number of beads, and the great care and exactness with which they were fashioned, it is apparent that they represent an exceptionally great amount of labor, skill and patience.

Although embedded in a mass of yellow clay, the beads comprising this deposit retained a freshness and whiteness unusual in bone objects found in mound burials, a condition which was not without its explanation; for it was plainly to be seen that they had been contained in a receptacle, probably a buckskin bag, the mold of which was preserved in the covering of clay.

A further feature of this deposit was that before being placed where found, it had been subjected to the "killing" ceremony. This was effected by placing the bag of beads upon a hard surface, and repeatedly striking them with a stone hammer, the result being that the greater part of the contents were crushed and broken. The bag, with its contents was then deposited where found.

#### THE CREMATORY

The crematory of mound number 13 was found directly east of burial number 4, [as shown on the map of the floor plan]. It had not been disturbed, and was devoid of ashes or cremated remains. The basin was 6 feet long, 4 feet and four inches wide, and 6 inches deep at the center. The construction of this basin was unusual, since, instead of the customary flat bottom, the sloping side-walls and ends were carried inward and downward until they converged, thus resulting in a V-shaped cross-section. The east end of the crematory had been repaired with a light-colored clay, resembling fire-clay, the basin showing no subsequent use for cremation purposes. The west end of the basin was coated with a red pigment, doubtless used incidental to cremation ceremonies.

Burial number 6, with which were placed a few beads, and burial number 7, were located directly south of the crematory. Burials 8 and 10 lay just south of burials 6 and 7, were devoid of artifacts, and were placed simply and without preparation on the floor.

Burial number 9 occupied a basin-like receptacle 18 inches in diameter and 4 inches deep. Over the incinerated bones and ashes had been placed a great quantity of perishable belongings, evidenced by the remnants



and imprints of objects of wood, bark, woven fabric and tanned skins, in the mass of dark organic matter resulting from their decomposition. This burial was covered by a small mound of earth, over which a sand layer, one-half inch in thickness had been deposited.

At this point in the examination of mound number 13, lying, as it did, beneath the barrack building, the problem of disposing of the excavated earth became acute. A further accumulation of loose earth threatened completely to cut off the scant supply of light from the west, and the alternative of shifting operations and entering the mound from the east side of the building was adopted. The first grave uncovered from this new approach lay east of center toward the eastern margin of the mound, and is shown on the plan as number 11. The burial occupied a low platform of earth, one inch high, and with it were placed a flint spear-point, badly broken, and a copper ornament, 4 inches in length, pierced for attachment, representing the human torso. Burials 12, 13 and 14, placed without preparation on the floor, were covered with dark organic earth, apparently resulting from the decay of cloth or skins. With number 13 were found a few beads and a small copper tube.

Burials 15 to 20, inclusive, were located north of the center of the mound. All were simple cremations placed upon the floor. With number 17 were found a necklace of pearl beads and two copper button-like objects, 1 inch in diameter and pierced for attachment by two holes through the flat side. With number 18 were placed a necklace of small ocean shells, and a copper button-shaped object,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches in diameter, with

one perforation through its longest diameter for attachment.

#### LOCATION OF SHRINE

No burials were found in the northeast section of the mound. However, there occurred a number of interior post-molds, about which were evidences of clothing and perishable objects and materials, indicating the possibility of this section having served as a sort of shrine. In the ceremony of burning the sacred enclosure occupying the site of the mound, only such portions of these perishable materials as might escape complete combustion and those which were charred but not entirely consumed, would remain for identification.

The line of post-molds representing the outer circumference of the sacred structure were worked out and recorded, as shown on the floor plan, in Fig. 10, with the exception of a small section at the southwest, evidence of which had been destroyed in the construction of the camp; and that at the south which, owing to the position of the building, was not available.

Mound number 13 was, aside from mound number 7, the most interesting tumulus of the group examined by our survey and, with the exception of mound number 7, had suffered least from disturbance through construction of the cantonment. Its principal burials and crematory occupied the western part of the mound. Burial number 1, containing the cremated remains of four individuals, with its pretentious covering of mica, its primary mound, and the peculiar deposit of artifacts intermixed with the earth forming the sarcophagus, was the most elaborate structure of the entire group. The important burials adjacent to number 1 were of almost equal interest, both as to their unusual character

and the objects which they contained. The fact that in this mound the crematory occupied, not the center, as is usual, but a space well to one side, is worthy of note.

## MOUND NUMBER 12

In mound number 12 our survey had its first intimation of what later was found to be true — namely, the fact that certain tumuli of the Mound City group were supplemental in purpose and usage; that is, not every mound was a complete and independent unit of itself, but several of the total number were auxiliary and contributory to others of the group.

This was true particularly in the matter of cremation since, after completing the examination of the entire group, it was found that several of the mounds, or rather the pre-structures which they represented, had served almost exclusively as places for carrying out the cremation ceremony. In these instances the cremated remains and associated artifacts were deposited, not where incineration had taken place, but in adjacent tumuli or sacred places.

Mound number 12 was preeminently of this supplemental type. While the burials thereof were negligible both as to number and importance, it was found to contain four distinct crematory basins which, from the evidences of repeated mending and deep burning, showed that here had occurred unusual activity in the matter of repeated and long-continued cremation. To the casual observer, mounds numbers 13 and 12 would have given the impression of being connected one with the other; and while this was not true, since the lines of post-molds marking the outer circumferences of the structures represented by them were found to be sepa-

rated by a space of approximately ten feet, yet their proximity is significant of their close relationship.

From these facts, it will be evident that the unusual number of crematories and the evidences of crematorial activities were the one outstanding feature of mound number 12. The first of these crematories, located near the center of the structure, was of large size and similar to those typical of the group. It had been seriously disturbed in the work of camp construction, however, leaving only the eastern half intact. In excavating this disturbed basin to ascertain its general character and the depth to which the earth beneath it had been burned through use, it was noted that the underlying soil had been disturbed. Following this for an explanation, it was found that a sub-base crematory had been constructed, two feet below the original base of the mound proper. This crematory, which was undisturbed, was smaller than most of the others of the group, measuring but  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet in length and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet in width. The fact that it was not markedly burned showed that it had not been used for any considerable length of time.

Crematory number 3, lying toward the east side of the mound was similar in form to number 2, and even smaller in size, measuring but 5 feet in length and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet in width. However, it showed intensive or long-continued use, since the underlying earth was burned red to a depth of 5 inches.

Crematory number 4 was found directly west from the center of the mound, and was in an undisturbed condition. It was 6 feet 10 inches long, 3 feet 10 inches wide and 6 inches deep, and contained a few charred human bones; probably the residue from the



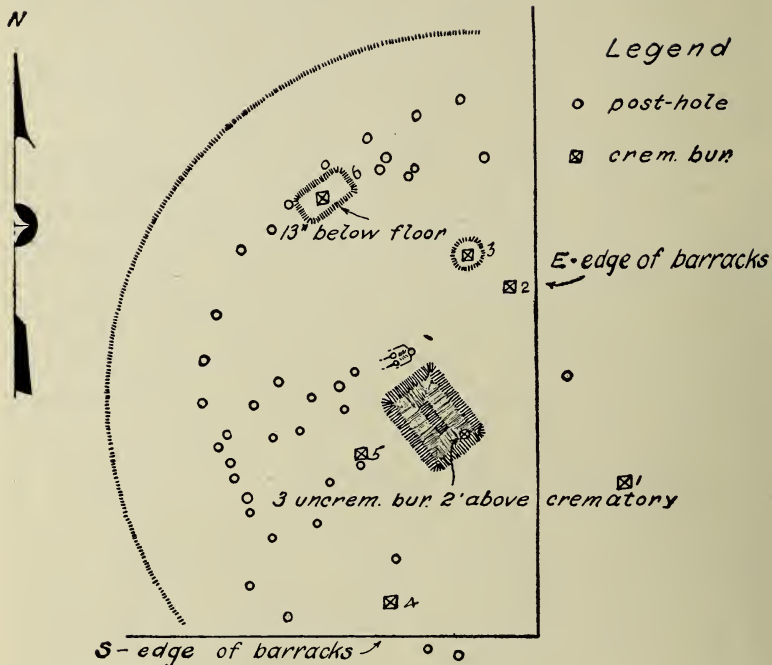
last cremation therein. A feature of this basin was the presence of peculiar depressions, two at the west end and one at the east end. The crematory was well and carefully constructed, had been used extensively, and showed repeated repairs with puddled clay.

Only three burials were found in mound number 12. The first of these, toward the north side, consisted of the usual quantity of charred bones, placed simply upon the floor, without artifacts. Burial number 2, toward the west side, occupied a shallow basin 12 inches in diameter. Accompanying the cremated remains were a necklace of shell beads, a small copper pendant, a few charred canine teeth of the gray wolf, and a light-colored flint spear-point, 3 inches long and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide. The burial was covered with 3 or 4 inches of clay, while two post-molds, one on either side, indicated the presence of posts on which probably were hung personal belongings of the dead. With burial number 3, placed without preparation upon the floor, no artifacts were found.

The evidence for mound number 12 is that it was purely auxiliary to mound number 13, and perhaps to others, to which the cremated remains and accompanying artifacts were removed and deposited.

#### MOUND NUMBER 23

A barrack building had been erected over approximately one-half of mound number 23, while the remainder, extending east and south, had been entirely obliterated in leveling the grounds of the cantonment. A floor plan of the mound is shown as Fig. 12, while the photograph, Fig. 13, illustrates that portion of the mound remaining, with the building covering it. In



# *PLAN OF FLOOR* *MOUND #23* *MOUND CITY GROUP*

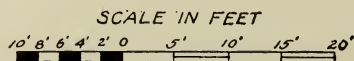


FIG. 12. Plan of the floor of Mound No. 23.

the portion outside the building, a single burial was found, undisturbed by grading, since it occupied a shallow basin excavated beneath the floor-line. Considerable mica in connection with this burial (number 1) indicated that artifacts may have been placed above it, and thus removed in grading.

Squier and Davis designate mound number 23, along with others, as small mounds, "destitute of al-

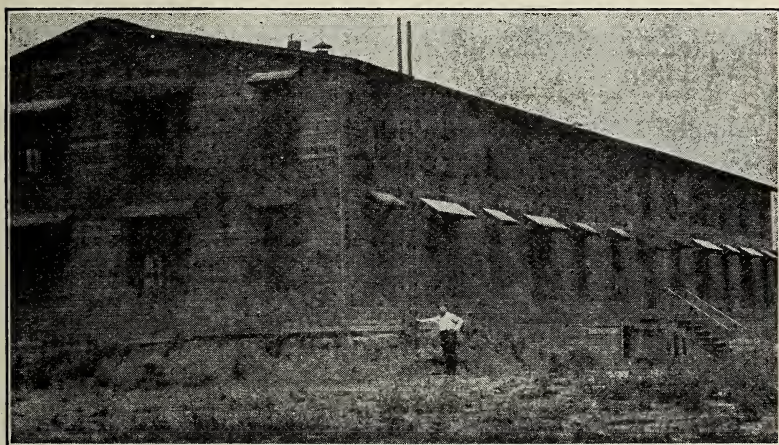


FIG. 13. Photograph of Mound No. 23, showing cuts made by street grading.

tars." As will be seen presently, their excavation into this mound, while actually touching upon a crematory, was not sufficiently extensive to disclose its presence to their view.

Burial number 2, just beneath the north edge of the building, was covered and surrounded by a thick layer of charred matter, apparently matting and skins, with which were associated numerous angular fragments of granite.

Directly south of the center of the mound were found three uncremated skeletons, all in a single grave, and representing an intrusive burial. The skeletons were those of two adults, male and female, and that of a child 10 or 12 years of age. With the burials were placed numerous artifacts peculiar to the intrusive culture which they represented. This intrusive burial, with others found in several mounds of the group, will be described in subsequent pages under the heading of intrusive burials found in the mounds of Mound City.

Directly beneath the intrusive burial above mentioned was found the crematory of mound number 23, a finely made structure, 8 feet 6 inches long and 6 feet 7 inches wide. Use of this basin (shown as Fig. 14),

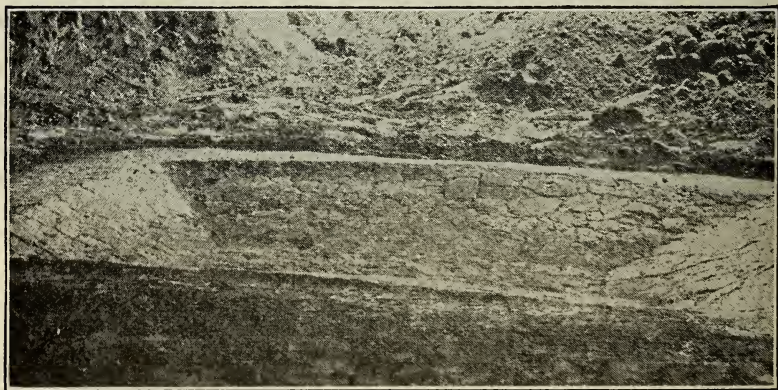


FIG. 14. Crematory found in Mound No. 23.

for cremation purposes had been so intense or prolonged that the earth beneath it was burned red to a depth of approximately 10 inches. It was covered by a layer of clay to a depth of 10 inches, above which were respectively a sand stratum one-half inch in thickness, a layer



of clay 4 inches thick, and a stratum of sand, one inch thick. The excavation sunk into this mound by Squier and Davis, plainly visible in all respects, had penetrated to the edge of the basin, which apparently they had believed a part of the floor. The basin contained a small quantity of ashes and charred human bones.

Burial number 3 lay toward the northwest margin of the mound, just beneath the edge of the building. It was placed upon a small circular raised platform, and is shown in Fig. 15. With the remains were three large



FIG. 15. Burial No. 3, Mound 23, showing large plates of mica.

plates of mica, one-fourth inch in thickness; six copper tubes, 4 inches long and one-half inch in diameter; a large copper button-shaped ornament, and a number of shell beads.

Burial number 4, near the southern edge of the mound, contained no artifacts. Burial number 5, directly west of the crematory, was laid upon the floor without preparation. An interesting feature was the fact that it was placed at the entrance of a shrine, en-

closed by a series of posts. The floor of this shrine was strewn with charred matting, cloth, mica, small pieces of shell and mastodon tusk.

Directly north of the crematory was found the fourth intrusive burial of the mound, an uncremated adult male skeleton. With it were placed the following implements: five handle-like objects of antler; one spatula-like bone implement; one antler implement, with beaver incisor inserted; one large slate gorget; one bone scraper; four bone harpoons; three bone awls; two flint celts; six barbed arrow-points; nine unbarbed arrow-points; four leg-bones of the deer, one partly worked; two cut beaver teeth, and several turtle shells and deer bones.

Burial number 6 was found near the northwest margin of the mound, just inside the line of post-molds indicating the wall of the sacred structure. It occupied a depression dug into the floor to a depth of 13 inches, and measured 4 feet long and 3 feet wide. In the center of this sarcophagus-like receptacle were the cremated remains, accompanied by two copper ear-ornaments; a large copper button-like pendant,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter; a necklace of shell beads, and a number of pieces of heavy ocean shell and fragments of ivory tusk of the mastodon or mammoth. The grave was covered with clay in the form of a cone, the apex of which was about 12 inches above the floor of the mound, and this in turn by a layer of sand to the depth of one inch. A cluster of four post-molds, just east of burial number 6, and apparently pertaining to it, enclosed a quantity of charred material having the appearance of coarse matting.

## MOUND NUMBER 17

Mound number 17 was represented by so slight an elevation that it was not thought necessary to level it in preparing the parade ground upon which it is located. Although Squier and Davis make no record of having examined this mound, it was found that a hole had been dug at the center, the measurements of which were 5 feet in length, 4 feet in width, and which reached a depth of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet — more than two feet deeper than the height of the tumulus. Mingled with the loose earth filling this cavity was a quantity of calcined human bones. These apparently had been disturbed in making the excavation referred to, either on the base line or below it; but all evidence that would serve to identify the remains was destroyed. The site of this mound had not been used as a sacred place to any appreciable extent, as there was no enclosing line of post-molds and very little evidence of occupation upon the floor level. Aside from the disturbed remains found in the old excavation, a single post-mold was the only indication of usage that could be discovered.

## MOUND NUMBER 20

Only a very small portion of mound number 20 was left for examination. The mound had been graded away to the base line in leveling the section where it stood for use as a parade ground, and only that portion surrounding an electric light pole, previously erected, was left standing — a conical mass about four feet high with a base diameter of approximately 8 feet. Apparently this remnant represented an area near the center of the mound, for its removal disclosed a crema-

tory basin, of rather unusual oval design. Within this basin were large quantities of ashes and charred human remains which, inferentially, represented a cremation which had not been removed. North of this crematory was an oval pit extending three feet below the base line. This pit contained many animal bones and mussel shells and a quantity of debris. Similar bones and debris were found rather freely in a section of the wall forming the earthwork surrounding the group, while occasionally the bones of various animals and birds were found scattered through the earth composing other mounds of the group.

#### MOUND NUMBER 18

This tumulus was examined by Squier and Davis, their report of which follows:

"Fig. 39 (reproduced as Fig. 16) is a section of mound number 18 in 'Mound City.' It has three sand strata, and an altar of the usual form and dimensions. This altar contained

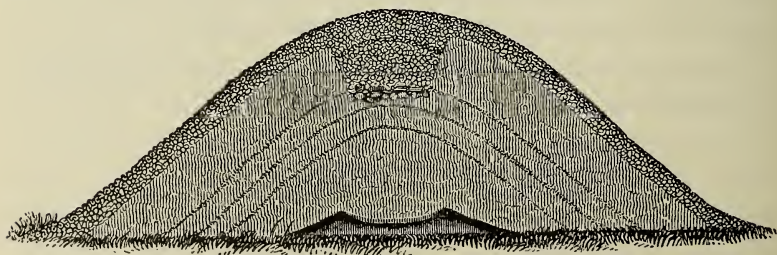


FIG. 16. Plan of Mound No. 18, after Squier & Davis.

no relics, but was thinly covered with a carbonaceous deposit, resembling burned leaves. The feature of this mound most worthy of remark was a singular burial by incineration, which had been made in it at some period subsequent to its erection. The indications (so often remarked as to need no further specification here) that the mound had been disturbed were observed at the commencement of the excavation. At a depth of four and a half feet, the deposit was reached. A quantity of water-worn



stones, and evidently taken from the river close by, had been laid down, forming a rude pavement six feet long by four broad. Lying diagonally upon this pavement,—with its head to the northwest, was a skeleton. It was remarkably well preserved, and retained much of its animal matter—a fact attributable in some degree to the antiseptic qualities of the carbonaceous material surrounding it. A fire had been built over the body after it was deposited, its traces being plainly visible on the stones, all of which were slightly burned.

“A quantity of carbonaceous matter, resembling that formed by the sudden covering up of burned twigs or other light materials, covered the pavement and the skeleton. There were no relics with the skeleton; although around its head were disposed a number of large fragments of sienite, identical with that of which many of the instruments of the modern Indians are known to have been made, previous and for some time subsequent to the introduction of iron amongst them.

“After the burial had been performed, and the hole partly filled, another fire had been kindled, burning the earth of a reddish color, and leaving a distinctly marked line, as indicated in the section.”

At the time our survey began the examination of this mound its western one-half lay under a barrack building, while the exposed portion had been partially graded off, but not to a sufficient extent to disturb its contents. This grading had been to a depth of about two feet, where the mound emerged from under the building, and gradually deepened, until toward the eastern margin it reached to within 15 inches of the floor. The erection of the building necessitated the setting of posts into the body of the mound, but owing to its considerable height, these posts did not reach to a depth sufficient to molest the floor or other important parts.

Examination of the mound was begun at its eastern margin, where grading had reached nearest the floor, the line of post-molds around the circumference being quickly located. The floor plan of the mound is shown

as Fig. 17. As will be noted from this plan, mound number 18 was remarkable for the great number of post-molds upon the floor and in having possessed two distinct floors. The posts are especially in evidence toward the south and west sides, where they fairly suggest a wilderness of posts. Doubtless they served in instances as shrines, for in their vicinity the floor was found to be covered with quantities of charred material of a vegetable nature, representing apparently matting, woven fabric and so forth. All posts reached through the upper floor and into the lower, showing that for some reason the lower floor of the structure had been abandoned, filled in with earth, forming a new floor, and again made use of.

The lower, and the older of the two, was found to contain a crematory, (number 2) and three burials. Of these burials (numbers 6, 7 and 8) two were accompanied by artifacts, while the third, number 8, was a simple deposit of incinerated bones. With burial number 6 were found a necklace of shell and pearl beads and eight finely made platform pipes. Of these pipes, three were of the plain platform type, characteristic of the culture, while the remaining five represented respectively, the otter, the rabbit, a brooding bird, the toad and the drumming pheasant. That representing the otter was made of pudding stone conglomerate, while the others were all wrought from the Ohio pipestone.

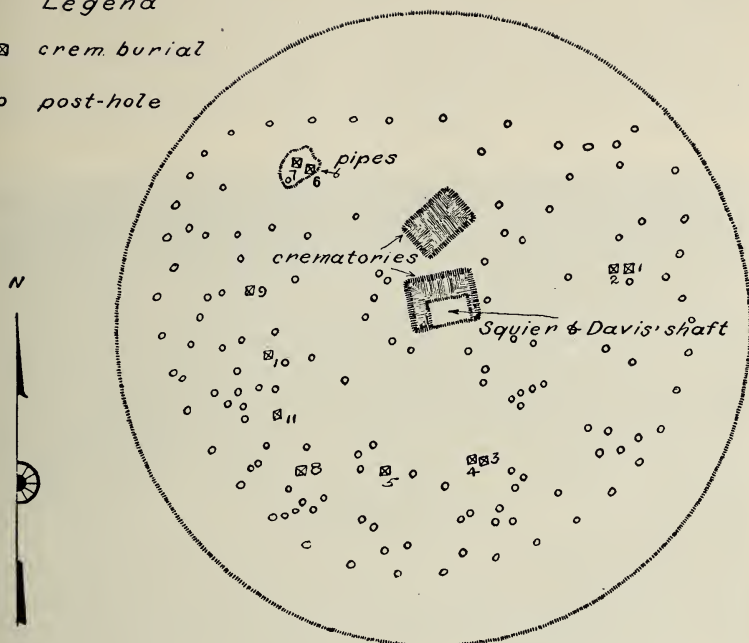
Burial number 7, adjacent to the last mentioned, disclosed two large plates of mica, probably used as mirrors; several copper button-shaped ornaments, and a few perforated bear teeth.

Upon the upper and later floor, were found a crematory (number 1) and eight burials. Of these burials,

*Legend*

▣ crem. burial

○ post-hole



*PLAN OF FLOOR*  
*MOUND #18*  
*MOUND CITY GROUP*

SCALE IN FEET  
15' 10' 5' 0' 10' 20' 30'

FIG. 17. Plan of the floor of Mound No. 18.

seven were simply placed upon the floor without artifacts. With burial number 5 were placed 50 shell beads.

The two distinct floors of mound number 18, together with the crematories, one on each level, are shown in the photograph, Fig. 18.

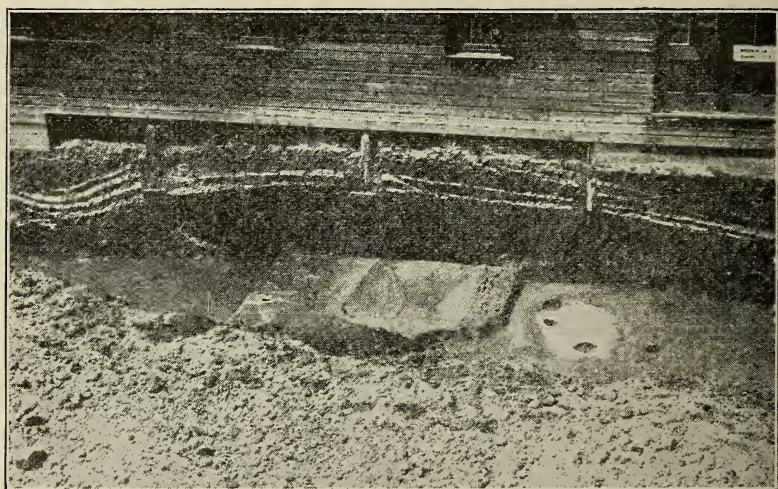


FIG. 18. Photograph showing sand layers and crematories, Mound 18.

It is interesting to compare Squier and Davis' drawing, shown in Fig. 16; the size of their shaft, from which that drawing was made (Fig. 17); and the photographic view of a cross-section of the mound as made by our survey (Fig. 18). From the last named, it will be noted that the mound possessed four distinct sand strata, instead of the three recorded by them. This instance affords a good example of the danger of surmise or of basing conclusions for a mound as a whole on any given portion thereof.

In view of the comparatively small number and un-



importance of the burials of mound number 18; its large size and evidences of cremation activities; and its proximity to mound number 3, and the great central mound, number 7, it seems likely that it served in great part as an auxiliary and supplemental mound to the two others of the central group of three.

### MOUND NUMBER 7

By right of size, as well as location, mound number 7 may well be considered the great central tumulus of the Mound City group of earthworks. Certainly, now that exploration has disclosed the secrets of its rich interior, such place will not be denied it; for while others

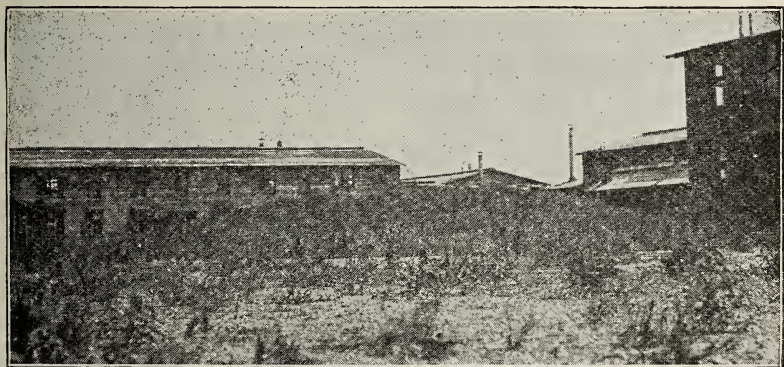


FIG. 19. Photograph of Mound No. 7, showing the mound surrounded by buildings.

of the group have shown themselves to be of very great interest, considered alone, it must be conceded that the nucleus of the group as a whole, and the most important of the units composing it, is to be found in mound number 7.

Plans for the construction of the cantonment of Camp Sherman called originally for the demolition of

mound number 7 and the use of its component earth for filling in the adjacent large pits, from which the group was originally constructed. However, at the solicitation of representatives of the Museum, these plans were modified, so that the structure might be preserved until it could be scientifically examined. As a result, barracks buildings and mess halls were erected on the north, west and east sides, but the mound itself was left undisturbed. To the south of the structure lay an open parade ground, affording a desirable entrance for exploration and abundant space for disposing of the great amount of earth to be removed; and it was there that the examination was begun.

Before proceeding with the account of the final exploration of mound number 7, it may be well to view the structure as it appeared to Squier and Davis almost three-quarters of a century ago. They have this to say:

"Fig. 41 (reproduced in Fig. 20) is a section of mound number 7 in 'Mound City.' This mound is much the largest within the enclosure, measuring seventeen and a half feet in height by ninety feet base. From its top a full view of the entire group is commanded. A shaft nine feet square was sunk from the apex. The outer layer of gravel, which in this case was twenty inches thick, was found to be broken up, and at the

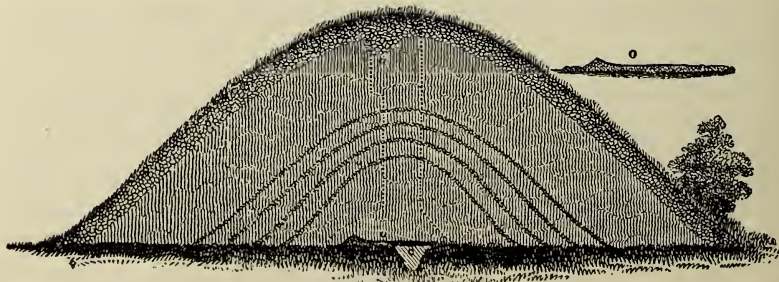


FIG. 20. Showing a section of Mound No. 7, after Squier & Davis.

depth of three feet (at a point indicated by *a* in the section) were found two copper axes, weighing respectively two, and two and one-fourth pounds. At the depth of seven feet occurred the first sand stratum, below which, at intervals of little more than a foot, were three more, — *four* in all. At the depth of nineteen feet was found a smooth level floor of clay, slightly burned, which was covered with a thin layer of sand an inch in thickness. This sand had a marked ferruginous appearance, and seemed to be cemented together, breaking up into large fragments a foot or two square. At one side of the shaft, and resting on the sand, was noticed a layer of silvery mica, as shown in

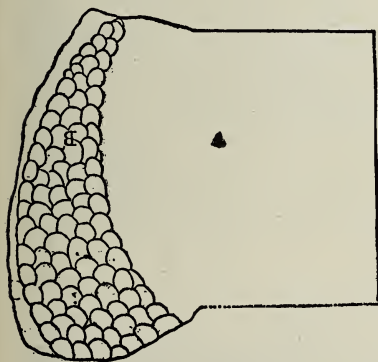


FIG. 21. Plan of mica crescent after Squier & Davis.

the plan of the excavation, Fig. 42 (reproduced as Fig. 21). It was formed of round sheets, ten inches or a foot in diameter, overlapping each other like the scales of a fish. Lateral excavations were made to determine its extent, with the result indicated in the plan. The portion uncovered exhibited something over one-half of a large and regular crescent, the outer edge of which rested on an elevation or ridge of sand six inches in height, as shown in the supplementary section *o*.

The entire length of the crescent from horn to horn could not have been less than twenty feet, and its greatest width five. The clay floor of this mound was but a few inches in thickness; a small shaft, *c*, was sunk three feet below it, but it disclosed only a mass of coarse ferruginous sand. The earth composing the mound was incredibly compact, rendering excavation exceedingly slow and laborious. Two active men were employed more than a week in making the excavation here indicated. It is not absolutely certain that the mound was raised over the simple deposit above mentioned, and it may yet be subjected to a more rigid investigation.

“Although this mound is classed as a mound of sacrifice, it presents some features peculiar to itself. Were we to yield to the temptation to speculation which the presence of the mica crescent holds out, we might conclude that the mound-builders worshiped the moon, and that this mound was dedicated, with





FIG. 22. A full cross section view of the shaft made by Squier & Davis when they examined the mound.

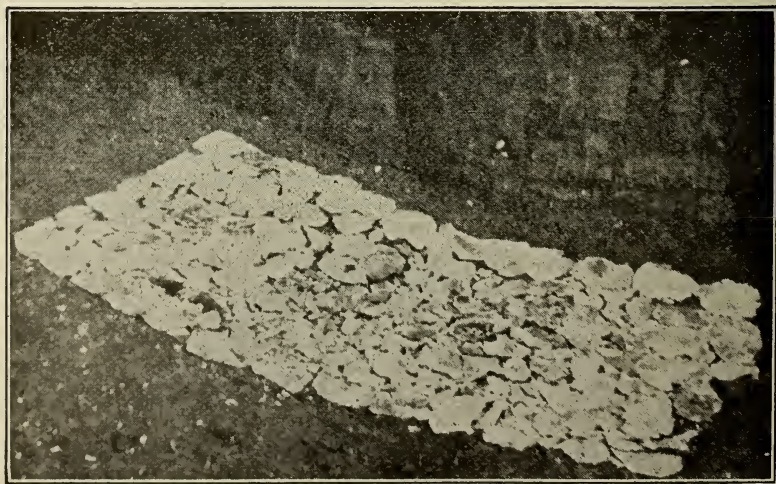


FIG. 22A. Mica deposit found at bottom of their shaft. Very few of the plates had been removed.



unknown rites and ceremonies, to that luminary. It may be remarked that some of the mica sheets were of that peculiar variety known as 'hieroglyphic' or 'graphic mica.'"

#### RECENT ASPECT OF THE MOUND

In the time intervening between the above survey and the present, striking changes in the appearance of the Mound City group have taken place. With respect



FIG. 23. The so-called Graphic Mica of Squier & Davis.

to mound number 7, however, these changes are mostly superficial, since the great tumulus, in all essential respects, remained as it was known to Squier and Davis. Externally, the change was marked; for the forest which at that time covered the entire group had disappeared to be followed by many years of cultivation of the land, while this, in turn, had given way to the erec-

tion of a great cantonment for the training of American soldiers for the World War. In size and shape, mound number 7 was only slightly modified. Squier and Davis' measurements show it to have been, as surveyed by them, 90 feet in diameter and  $17\frac{1}{2}$  feet high. However, since their shaft was sunk to a depth of 19 feet before reaching the floor, it is evident that this figure more nearly represents the true height; in fact, after years of cultivation, in which the thick gravel layer was continuously plowed from the top toward the base, our survey found the height of the structure to be 12 feet, while its diameter, as shown by the post-molds encircling its circumference, was approximately 100 feet.

Their finding of a portion of what they conceived as being a great mica crescent needs no preliminary comment, since its import will be made evident in subsequent pages of this report. Continuing of their shaft to a depth of three feet below the floor was a natural precaution; but little did they dream that at a depth of almost another three feet lay the floor of an important and extensive sub-structure, the uncovering of which awaited the present survey. Their surmise that the mound might justify a more thorough examination was fully borne out by the results herein set forth.

Examination of mound number 7, begun at the south side and carried forward in the usual way, had reached the half-way point to completion, when unexpected developments occurred. In keeping with its policy of thorough investigation, the survey had constantly sunk test holes through the well-defined floor of the mound, in order that no underlying activities of its builders might be overlooked. One of these test

shafts, effected at a point a few feet south of the geographic center of the mound disclosed, at a depth of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet, a strikingly well-defined floor, with evidences of burning, as shown by the terra-cotta discoloration of the surface and charred organic matter strewn thereon. Enlargement of this test excavation disclosed the rim of a crematory basin and confirmed the surmise that the activities of the builders of mound number 7 had not been confined to the normal level on which the structure was built.

In a mound of such proportions as number 7, disposal of the component earth under normal conditions is always a problem, and with this new development it became decidedly more complex. The solution of caring for upwards of six feet additional was found in utilizing the limited space available to the east and west of the mound, thus supplementing the principal working entry at the south. This permitted disposing of the worked-over earth in three directions and leaving the central portion of the area free for examination.

#### BASEMENT IS DISCLOSED

Since the "basement" or sub-structure antedated the mound proper in construction and usage, it seems proper to accord it priority in this report. [Reference to the floor plan of mound number 7, shown as Fig. 25, will afford a definite idea of the size, form and principal characteristics of this basement.] Its average depth below the floor of the mound proper was  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet, although in places this depth was close upon 6 feet. The excavation corresponding to the basement was oval in form, with its longest axis extending northeast and southwest. Its length was approximately 40 feet and



its width 30 feet. About 20 inches of the upper portion of the fill, including the floor proper, was of clayey loam, the remainder of the 5½ feet being gravel. The floor of the basement was carefully made of puddled clay, four inches in thickness at the center, and gradually sloped toward the outer perimeter, following which was a continuous trough-like depression which served as drainage, by carrying surface water from the floor to holes leading into the gravel below.

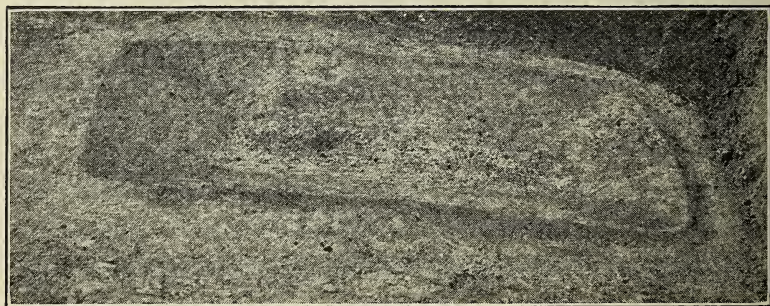


FIG. 24. Crematory in sub-basement of Mound No. 7.

Entrance to the basement was by means of an easy slope or grade of earth located at the northeast end. On each side of this entry, where it joined the basement proper, had been set posts, about 6 inches in diameter, the distance between which was 5 feet and 8 inches. From these entry posts, extending in either direction around the wall of the basement were other posts. These were continued, at regular intervals to about the center on each side, and apparently indicated the presence over the one-half of the basement which they occupied of some sort of roof or covering. An interesting feature of the construction of this basement was the fact that to prevent the gravelly soil around its cir-



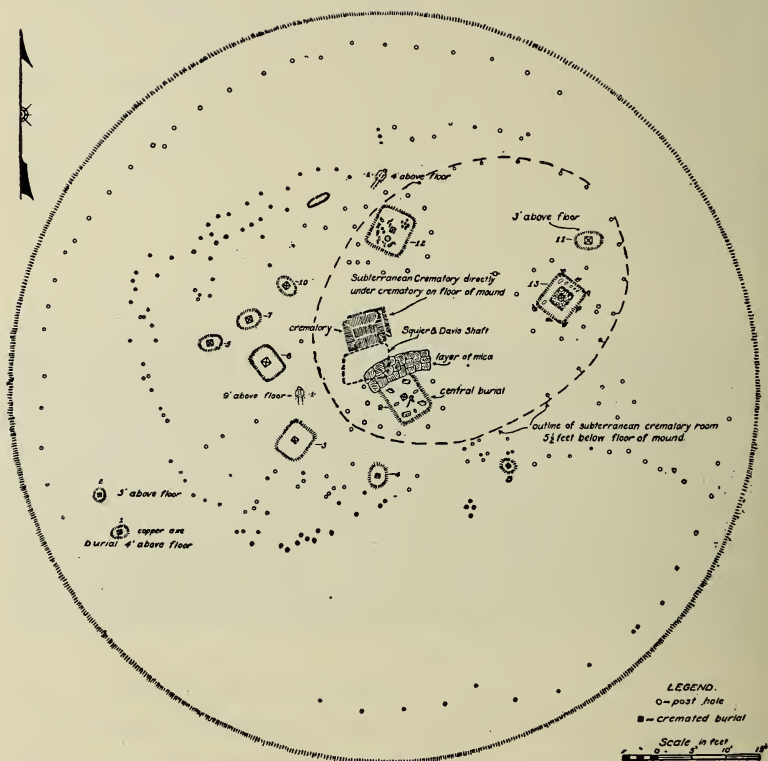
cumference from caving in upon the floor, the puddled clay stratum plastered upon the floor itself had been carried upward onto the walls, the whole ingenious proceeding suggesting the use of cement in the modern basement. It was interesting to find, however, that in places this wall of clay had failed to withhold the mass of gravel behind it and that both had slipped downward and forward onto the floor.

The only object of artificial construction found in this entire basement was a crematory basin, the edge of which had been disclosed by the test-hole which brought to light its existence. This basin lay toward the southwest end of the basement, and measured 6 feet 3 inches by 4 feet 4 inches. [It is shown as Fig. 24.] This crematory, which had been used for a considerable period of time, as indicated by its burned condition and frequent repairs, was devoid of contents, with the exception of a few calcined bones and ashes remaining from cremation ceremonies.

It is evident that this basement, a sacred place, was used for a long period, but that its purpose was mainly that of cremation. The cremated remains apparently were then removed to adjacent sacred places for deposit and burial. In the end, the site was abandoned, the excavation filled to a level with the corresponding natural surface, and upon this restored surface mound number 7 was constructed.

#### THE MOUND PROPER

Within a very short time after beginning the examination of mound number 7, the characteristic post-molds, marking the outer circumference of the wall of the pre-structure, were disclosed. Proceeding from



ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF MOUND \*7  
 MOUND CITY GROUP  
 FIELD EXPLORATIONS  
 BY  
 W.C. MILLS M.Sc.  
 AUG. 1920 AND JULY 1921  
 E. E. EVANS & J. H. JEFFERSON SURVEYORS

FIG. 25. Plan of floor of Mound No. 7.

these molds, at the southern margin of the mound, what was at first supposed to be the floor of the structure was discovered. This apparent floor, reaching to within 18 or 20 inches of the marginal post-molds, proved to be a carefully constructed covering of finely puddled clay, one-half to one inch in thickness, and in turn covered with a stratum of finely sifted sand, one inch to two inches in thickness. Instead, however, of marking the floor level, it was found to overlies the entire area of the mound, having been put in place when the tumulus had been built to a height of 7 feet at the center. It thus formed a continuous conical cap, completely sealing the mound below, together with its contents. A second covering, this time of sand alone, was found to overlies the mound at an earlier stage of its construction. This stratum lay one foot below the first-mentioned, and had been put in place when the mound had reached a height at the center of approximately 6 feet.

The true floor of the mound was easily disclosed, and proved to be very marked in character. It had been constructed of puddled clay, with a light covering of fine sand. Apparently this sand covering had been renewed from time to time as it became trampled into the clay beneath. A peculiar cement-like layer had resulted which, in our examination, was removed in pieces often one foot or more across, and resembling slabs of sandstone. As removal of the mound was carried to completion, it was found that this peculiar characteristic was constant throughout the entire extent of the floor. This floor had been so carefully constructed that from its surface the existence of the basement beneath it would never have been suspected. [The

photograph shown in Fig. 26 exhibits a section of this main floor, and in addition a portion of the exposed sub-base floor for a distance of 20 feet.] A section of the basement wall, along its north side, plastered with the puddled clay which, in one spot has slipped downward onto the floor, will be noted. The large post-hole at the right of the photograph is one of those placed at the side of the graded entry into the basement. It and

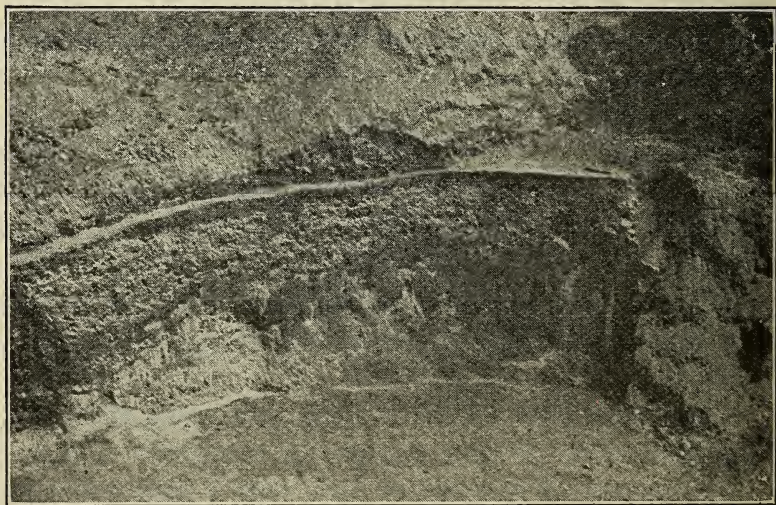


FIG. 26. Photograph of sub-base floor and plastered sides.

others of the series extended downward through the main floor, into the sub-base floor, showing that when the basement was filled in, the posts which they represent had remained in place and undisturbed.

Reference to the floor plan of the mound (Fig. 25) will show that our survey found no burials or other deposits on the floor of the southwest section of the mound. This area doubtless served as a sort of assembly room from which were viewed the cremation



and burial ceremonies held toward the interior and the north and east of the structure.

#### BURIALS OF THE MOUND

Of the thirteen burials belonging to the builders of mound number 7, all were cremated. Ten of these were placed upon the floor and three — those numbered 1, 2 and 11 — were found within the body of the mound.

Burial number 1 occurred toward the southwestern

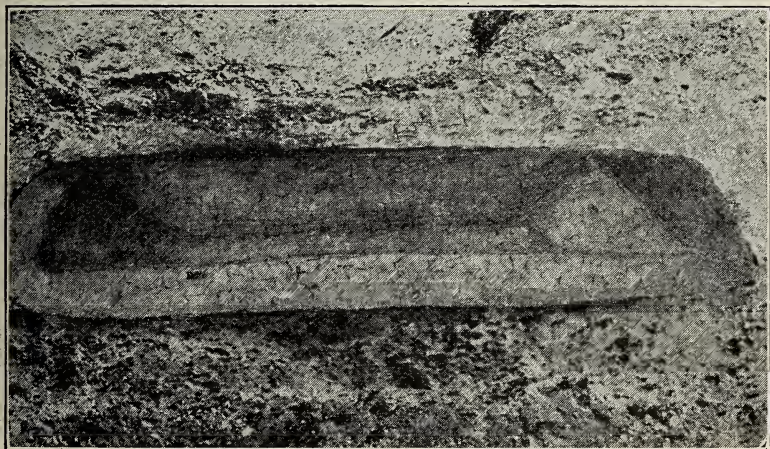


FIG. 27. Crematory found near the center of Mound No. 7.

side of the structure, about 4 feet above its base. With the cremated remains was an unusually fine double-bitted copper axe.

Burial number 2 was similarly located as to the above, at a distance of three feet above the floor. Two interesting copper pendants, spoon-shaped, and a number of bone and shell beads accompanied the cremation, which had been placed in a pocket-like receptacle in the earth.

Burial number 11, the third found above the baseline, lay well to the northeast side of the mound, about three feet above the floor. The cremated remains were deposited on what, at that stage, was the surface of the mound, and covered with earth. With the burial were two flint knives, and a necklace of barrel-shaped bone beads. The natural supposition with regard to burials

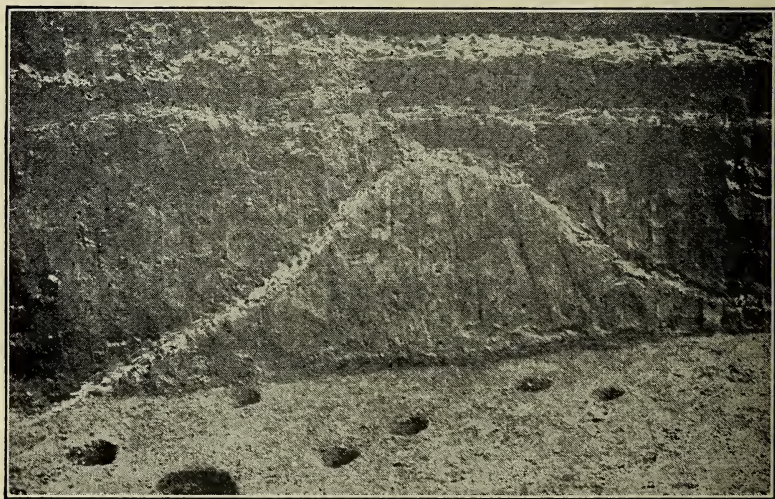


FIG. 28. Photograph showing sand covering over the large central grave Mound No. 7.

placed above the floor is that they represented individuals who died during the erection of the mound.

Of the ten burials found upon the floor of this mound, all were placed in more or less carefully prepared graves. The smaller and less important of these were covered rather indifferently with a deposit of clay and loam, but over the more pretentious of the burials had been erected primary mounds of earth with the characteristic coverings of fine sand.



Burial number 3, the first to be encountered of those placed upon the floor, is shown in Fig. 29. The grave was constructed of logs, about 8 inches in diameter, so placed as to form a rectangular enclosure, 6 feet 6

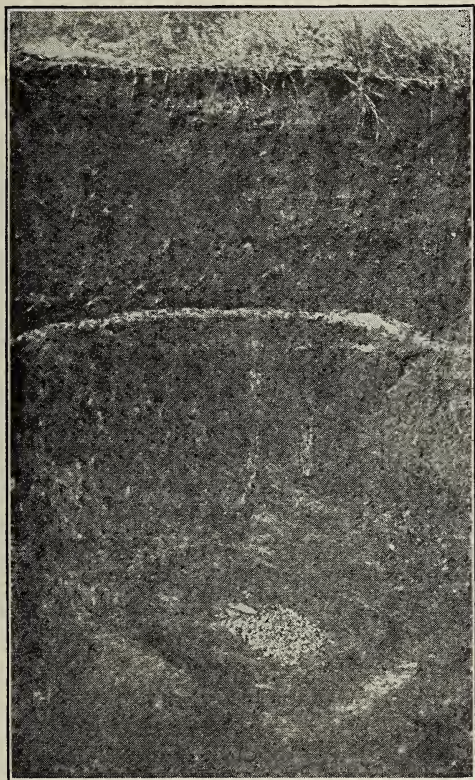


FIG. 29. Photograph showing burial No. 3 and Mound No. 7 with but one sand layer.

inches long and 5 feet wide. The enclosure was then filled with earth to a depth of about 5 inches, and upon the resulting platform were deposited the cremated remains. With these were found a large obsidian spear,

8 inches in length; a button-shaped ornament of copper, plano-convex in form, and one inch in diameter; and a necklace of small pearl and shell beads.

Burial number 4, located about 10 feet east of number 3, occupied a low platform 18 inches in diameter. With the small amount of incinerated human bones were placed three curved copper objects in the form of fish-hooks; the remnants of two large spear-points — one of hyaline quartz and one of obsidian — which had been broken into fragments; several fragmentary ornaments of very thin copper; and an unusual necklace, composed of large pearl beads and beads of wood, covered with silver.

Burials numbers 5, 6 and 7 were closely grouped, and occupied a position directly north of number 3. Number 5, [shown as Fig. 30], presented an unusual feature, in that it occupied a receptacle differing materially from the customary graves of the group. This receptacle consisted of a short stump-like section of a tree, into the top of which had been excavated a bowl-like cavity to contain the cremated remains. The organic matter of the container had long since been replaced by a deposit of bog-iron, a condition not infrequently found in the mounds of this group, particularly in the post-molds, where the wood of the post has been replaced by the metallic deposit. In this burial, cremation had been carried to a point where most of the bones were consumed, the deposit thus being unusually small in quantity. With the remains were numerous remnants of perishable objects, including cut jaws and teeth, beads, and so forth, practically destroyed by cremation. A large bone awl, however, and a number of beads, were unburned.



Burials numbers 6 and 7 occupied slightly raised platforms, and with each was placed a necklace of shell beads.

Burial number 8, lying southeast from the center of the mound, contained an unusually large amount of cremated remains. With these were found a necklace of bone beads.

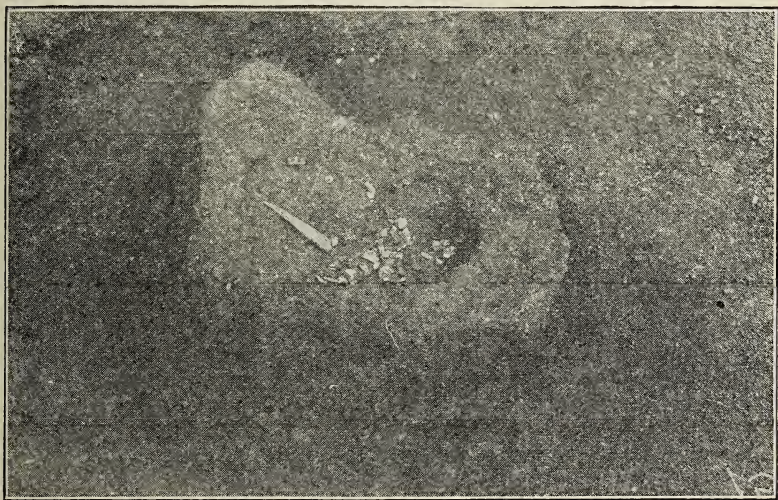


FIG. 30. Photograph of burial No. 5 of Mound No. 7, placed in a receptacle made of part of a hollow stump.

Examination of mound number 7 had reached a stage, at this point, of utmost interest and importance. Its exploration was carried forward by the removal of five-foot cuts, extending approximately east and west, and reaching from top to floor. The last of these to be completely removed, up to this time, had revealed burials 3, 4 and 8, and, in addition, just north of burial number 4, the margin of a primary sand-covered mound, which promised to develop into something of

unusual interest. While this cut was being completed on its eastern end, workmen began the removal of the next succeeding cut, at its western end. Burials 5, 6 and 7, already described, were brought to light before the westernmost one-third of this cut was completed. Since this cut would carry the work of examination almost to the geographical center of the mound, it was carried forward with careful anticipation of what it might reveal. It was felt that the shaft sunk by Squier and Davis, disclosing the extensive deposit of mica which they were able to examine only in very small part, was near at hand; and in addition, as before mentioned, the cut covered a primary mound of decided promise. Both surmises proved to be correct, for at a point corresponding very closely to the center of the mound was found the southern edge of the historic shaft, while to the eastward and adjoining it, lay a most pretentious and important grave, beneath the covering of the primary sand-covered mound.

#### SQUIER AND DAVIS SHAFT

The shaft of Squier and Davis, after being cleared out by our survey, is shown in the illustration as Fig. 22. Its dimensions were found to be: Depth, 11 feet 2 inches; width at top, 12 feet; width 5 feet below top, 5 feet 10 inches; width at bottom, 7 feet 11 inches.

Although almost three-quarters of a century have elapsed since the digging of this shaft of the pioneer explorers, the marks of their mattocks and picks on its walls were almost as plain as if newly made. The earth which had been thrown back into the shaft from above was much looser than that of the undisturbed body of the mound, and was easily removed in order that the

shaft might be viewed in its entirety. At its bottom, on the eastern side, were located the plates of mica covering the floor and extending into the undisturbed body of the mound. The significance of this mica deposit, regarding which Squier and Davis made such interesting surmises, will be made plain in succeeding pages. At the western edge of the old shaft was located an elevation of the floor, which later proved to be the edge of the great crematory basin of the mound.

### MOUND NUMBER 9

Viewed from the bottom of the shaft of Squier and Davis, it was most interesting to note with what assiduity they had attempted to follow the mica deposit eastward into the mound. With this in view, they had undercut their shaft, just above the floor, to a point almost exceeding the margin of safety, clearly loath to abandon what they realized to be a valuable and interesting situation. Had conditions permitted their quest to extend but a few inches farther to the southeast, they would have come upon one of the most remarkable burials of the Mound City group, which, in turn, would have furnished an explanation of the remarkable deposit of mica.

Reference to the map of the floor plan of mound number 7 will make clear the position of burial number 9 and its relation to the shaft of Squier and Davis, as well as to other sites lying in the central portion of the mound. A section of the primary mound covering this burial, with its heavy stratum of fine sand, is shown in Fig. 28. The dark soil at the base is a log-mold, from one of a number of logs forming the outer structure of the grave. This structure was rectangular,



laid up cabin-like, two logs deep, the timbers being about eight or nine inches in diameter.

On the west, these logs were held in place by glacial boulders, of one to ten pounds size, piled against the structure on the outside. Within this vault the floor was raised to a height of 6 inches above the general floor, thus forming an elevated platform. At the center of this platform lay an object apparently made to repre-

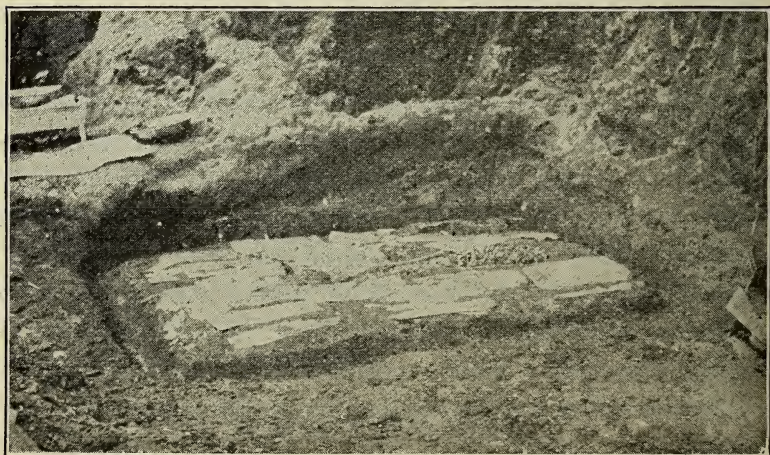


FIG. 31. Photograph of the large burial No. 9 of Mound No. 7, covered with mica.

sent a toad-stool of the death-cup variety, and suggesting a wand or baton as its purpose. The object is  $13\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length, and is made of wood, covered with thin copper. Directly over and around this peculiar object were placed the cremated remains of the dead. Adjacent to these remains, at the south, was a copper plate, ten inches in length, bearing a striking conventional decoration in repousse, with the eagle-head as the motif. At the north side of the burial was a second



copper plate with a similar but more highly conventional design in cut-out work, while at the southwest lay an elaborate head-dress of extremely thin and badly decomposed copper, apparently representing the head and horns of some animal. At the southeast and northeast corners of the grave respectively were found two flying eagles of copper, with body and feather markings in repousse, each more than one foot in length. Elsewhere throughout this grave were placed copper pend-

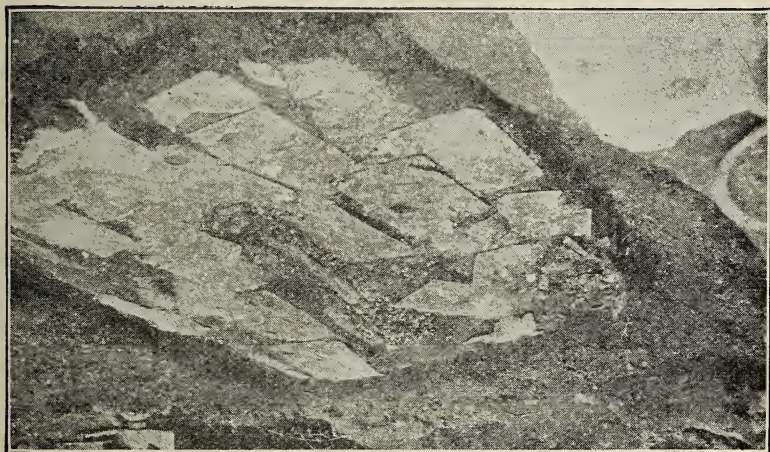


FIG. 32. Another view of burial No. 9 with part of mica removed and showing the effigy death cup wand.

ants, pearl and shell bead necklaces, and broken-spear-points of rock crystal. Over the entire grave and its contents were placed large sheets of mica, cut in rectangular form, and measuring as large as 14 by 10 inches. [The burial is shown in Fig. 31 and, with some of the mica plates removed, in Fig. 32.] A carefully woven coarse matting was found covering the copper objects at the south end of the grave.

## THE MICA "PAVEMENT"

It will be readily apparent that in view of Squier and Davis' surmise regarding the "layer of silvery mica", the present survey had a justifiable curiosity to determine its real character. From their plan (Fig. 21) and their quoted description, it will be noted that they conceived it to be a "large and regular crescent", the length of which, "from horn to horn" they placed at not less than 20 feet. The accompanying floor plan of the mound, in which is shown Squier and Davis' shaft, discloses the part of this mica figure which they uncovered.

Just what the mysterious mica deposit of mound number 7 really was, is shown in the photograph reproduced in Fig. 22A. Instead of the great crescent of 20 feet in length, it was found to be a covering of mica sheets, with an extent of 8 feet in length and 4 feet in width. In form it was primarily rectangular, but had been made to conform to the rounded contour of the base of the small mound covering burial number 9. Although not so extensive as Squier and Davis believed, this covering of mica was sufficiently impressive in itself. Apparently it had been laid down, topping the sand stratum which covered the primary mound over the great central grave, at its northern margin, as a part of the primitive splendor of aboriginal burial ceremony.

A specimen of the hieroglyphic or graphic mica, mentioned by Squier and Davis as composing the "crescent", is illustrated in Fig. 23. This mica long has been a matter of curiosity among geologists, owing to the uncertainty as to its character. A sample from the

"crescent" was submitted to Professor John H. Schaffner, of Department of Botany, Ohio State University, whose report is as follows:

"Caused by filamentous iron bacteria, growing between the plates of mica. A species of *Crenothrix* has the power of oxidizing certain kinds of iron. After the *Crenothrix* produced organic matter, filamentous fungi-molds—grew into the material. Probably produced since the mica was buried and in recent years."

From this report, it becomes evident that the so-called "hieroglyphic" or "graphic" mica is not a variety of the mineral, but signifies merely a condition—the presence of the filamentous bacteria and the resultant peculiar markings.

The crematory of mound number 7 is shown as Fig. 27. It occupied practically the center of the floor and was one of the finest and largest of the entire Mound City group, being 9 feet long, 6 feet wide and 10 inches deep. It had been long and intensively used, as shown by frequent mending of burned-out portions, and by the burning of the underlying earth to the depth of one foot. It contained no cremated remains, but such were found scattered upon the floor near by, where they doubtless had been dropped in removing cremations from the basin to adjacent graves.

It was at this point in the examination of the mound proper, that the constant "sounding" of the floor disclosed disturbed soil underneath, and led to the discovery of the sub-floor and basement, previously described.

Burial number 10 lay toward the northwestern side of the mound. Its content of cremated human remains was larger than usual, and with them were placed a

necklace of bone beads and several perforated bear canines.

#### BURIAL NUMER 12

Equally important with the great central grave of the mound, both in number and variety of artifacts contained, was grave number 12, located north from the center of the structure. The construction of the grave likewise was very similar to that of number 9, logs forming the sepulchre, with the raised earthen platform within. This platform was 6 feet 6 inches in length and 5 feet in width, with its longer diameter extending north and south. In its center were the usual cremated remains and with these and covering all parts of the platforms were numerous artifacts of copper, obsidian and mica.

At the northwest corner of the platform lay an ingeniously constructed belt, the leather of which was still fairly preserved in parts by contact with copper. Upon this belt were mounted a total of 18 copper turtles, about 2 inches in length and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide. The carapace of the turtles was well formed and pierced with holes running along each side. The plastron is cleverly fashioned from two pieces of copper, one of which was designed to serve for attachment to the belt. Within the turtles were placed either small pebbles or beads, as rattles.

Near the effigy turtles were found two large and beautifully fashioned obsidian spears, measuring  $7\frac{3}{4}$  inches in length. One of these is almost transparent. Near the center of the grave was a large copper plate, finely made and well preserved. It is covered on one side with leather. In conjunction with this plate were



found a pair of spool-shaped ear ornaments, one lobe of each being of copper, and the other of native silver. The north-central and eastern parts of the grave were covered with more than a dozen star-like figures cut from copper and averaging about  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches in diameter. Associated with these stars were two conventionalized objects of copper, resembling bats, each 5 inches long and  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide. In the same part of the grave was found a copper plate 10 inches in length, representing the hawk or eagle in an upright posture. The eyes, feather markings and body lines are executed in repousse, while at the neck, but on the reverse side, is a large pearl bead, the thread by which it is attached being preserved by the oxidation of the copper. At the east central part of the grave were found more than one dozen copper pendants, ranging in length from 6 inches to 8 inches. These were ovate and concaved, with the general form of the laurel oak leaf, and attached to the inner side of several of them, through oxidation of the copper, were shell and pearl beads. To the south of the cremated remains was a circular sheet of mica, 11 inches in diameter, which probably served as a mirror. In close proximity to this mica sheet was an effigy horn of copper, closely resembling in form the horn of the mountain goat. It is 9 inches long and is characteristically curved and corrugated. Toward the southwest corner of the platform lay a copper head-dress in human effigy form. The specimen, which is 9 inches long, and which represents the human female form, is curved to fit the crown of the head in the same manner as those found in mound number 13. At the southeast corner of this interesting grave were found several necklaces of fine

pearl beads, bear claws and sharks' teeth, and a number of small ornaments of copper.

Burial number 13, the final one of the mound, was of especial interest, both as to contents and the depository which they occupied. The latter, rectangular in form, was cut into the floor, intaglio-like, to a depth of 9 inches. This basin, in turn, was enclosed with logs, 9 or 10 inches in diameter, and within this enclosure a clay floor, or platform, about 4 inches in height, had

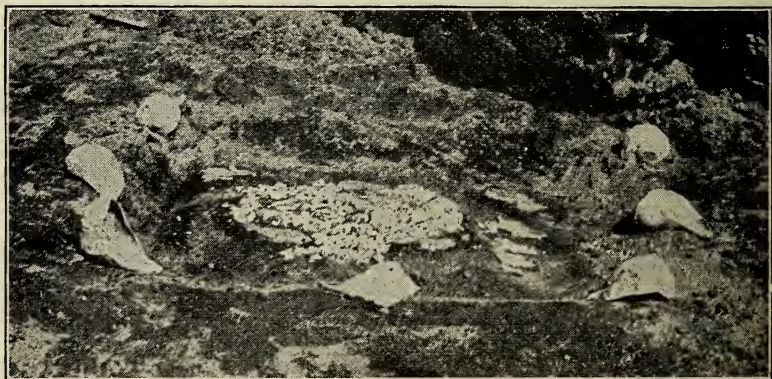


FIG. 33. Photograph of burial No. 13 of Mound No. 7, showing intaglio form with large shells placed around the grave.

been constructed. Upon this raised platform, at about its center, was placed a fine copper axe, over which, and covering the greater part of the platform, were sheets of mica. Upon this mica were scattered the incinerated human bones, with which were the fragments of a large crystal quartz spear, a necklace of shell beads and two bone needles. At each corner of the grave and intermediary on each end and one side, were placed large shell containers. These, seven in number, were fashioned from the species known as *Fulgur perversum*,

found in the Gulf of Mexico, through removal of a portion of the body whorl and the columella. Burial number 13 is shown in Fig. 33.

In addition to the above burials, belonging to the mound proper, there were disclosed during the process of examination three intrusive skeletons. These will be described under the heading of intrusive burials.

### MOUND NUMBER 3

Mound number 3 is a long, comparatively low mound, closely associated with mound number 7 on the west and with mound number 18 on the east, and with them forming the central group of Mound City. Considerably modified in form, particularly as to height, in the work of constructing the cantonment, the measurements of Squier and Davis are much more nearly representative of its original dimensions than those available at this time. These are, as per their report: 140 feet in length, 60 feet wide at the larger end and 50 feet wide at the smaller, with a height of 11 feet.

Despite the statement in Squier and Davis' report that mound number 3 was "minutely investigated", the present survey began its re-examination with considerable interest. Granting that their examination disclosed as much of the floor of the structure as indicated by them, there still remained, in so large a mound, sufficient undisturbed space to furnish valuable returns both in specimens and information; moreover, it was felt that certain rather unusual conclusions reached by the pioneer explorers were perhaps not fully justified by their incomplete examination.

That the mound still held interesting possibilities is readily seen after reading their description, which follows:

"Fig. 34 is a section of the long mound, No. 3, in the plan of 'Mound City.' For several reasons,—its shape, the great dimensions of its enclosed altar, and the number and variety of its relics,—this mound was minutely investigated, and is worthy of a detailed description. It is egg-shaped in form, and measures one hundred and forty feet in length, by fifty and sixty respectively at its greater and smaller ends, and is eleven feet high.

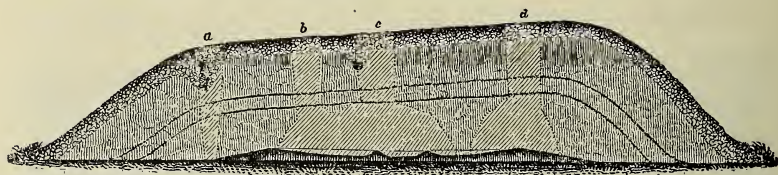


FIG. 34. Section of Mound No. 3 after Squier & Davis.

"Its longitudinal bearing is N. 20° W. Four shafts were sunk at as many different points; between three of which, for a distance of over forty feet, connecting drifts were carried, as indicated in the plan.

"The shaft *a* was first sunk. At the commencement of the excavation the feature already mentioned, viz., the confusion of the layers, was remarked, and care was accordingly taken to uncover carefully the expected recent deposit. This proved to be a single human skeleton, placed in a sitting posture, the head resting on the knees. The top of the skull was eighteen inches below the surface. The skeleton was well preserved, still retaining a large portion of its animal matter. The lower jaw was broken, a circumstance observed in most of the skeletons thus found. No relics were deposited with this skeleton. The sand strata occurred low down, following the curvature of the mound, as represented in the section.

"Shaft *c* was next sunk. On the left side of the excavation a disturbance was remarked; and at about two feet below the surface, a rude earthen vessel holding something over one quart, and the lower jaw of a human skeleton, were discovered. They were side by side, and seemed to have constituted the entire deposit.

"Two sand strata occur in this mound, the first five feet below the surface, the second one foot deeper. The intermediate



layers of earth presented the mottled appearance already explained, and were much compacted, rendering excavation exceedingly slow and laborious. The remaining shafts were afterwards sunk for the purpose of ascertaining the size and form of the altar, but disclosed nothing of importance in their course.

"Although the altar in this mound was not fully exposed, yet enough was uncovered to ascertain very nearly its character and extent. Forty-five feet of its length was exposed, and in one place its entire width, which was eight feet across the top, by fifteen at the base. The portions in the section, extending beyond the line of the excavation, are supplied, giving an entire length to the altar of not far from sixty feet.

"By attention to the longitudinal section of the altar B C B, it will be seen that it shelves gradually from the ends, forming a basin of not far from eighteen inches in depth. The outer



FIG. 35. Longitudinal section of altar in No. 3 after Squier & Davis.

slope is more gradual than the inner one. Near the center of the altar, two partitions, A A, are carried across it transversely, forming a minor basin or compartment, C, eight feet square. Within this basin the relics deposited in the mound were placed. The outer compartments seemed to have been filled with earth, previous to the final heaping over, so as to present a perfectly level surface, which had been slightly burned. This feature is indicated in the section, which also illustrated another interesting and important peculiarity. Upon penetrating the altar (a task of no little difficulty in consequence of its extreme hardness) to ascertain its thickness, it was found to be burned to the depth of *twenty-two* inches. This could hardly be accounted for by the application or continuance of any degree of heat from above, and was therefore the occasion of some surprise. A more minute examination furnished the explanation. It was found that one altar had been built upon another; as if one had been used for a time, until, from defect or other causes, it was abandoned, when another was *recast* upon it. This process, as shown in the section F E, had been repeated three times, the outline of each successive layer being so distinct as to admit of no doubt as to its cause. The partitions AA were constructed subsequently to the erection of the altar, as is evidenced from the fact that they were scarcely burned through, while the altar immediately beneath them was burned to great hardness. Scattered upon the deposit of earth filling the compartments DD,

and resting upon the slopes of the altar, were found the traces of a number of pieces of timber, four or five feet long, and six or eight inches thick. They had been somewhat burned, and the carbonized surface had preserved their casts in the hard earth, although the wood had entirely decayed. They had been heaped over while glowing, for the earth around them was slightly baked. In fact the entire hollow of the altar was covered with a thin layer of fine carbonaceous matter, much like that formed by the burning of leaves or straw. These pieces had been of nearly uniform length; and this circumstance, joined to the position in which they occurred in respect to each other and to the altar, would almost justify the inference that they had supported some funeral or sacrificial pile.

"The remains found in this mound were, in their number and variety, commensurate with the labor and care bestowed on its construction. A quantity of pottery and many implements of copper and stone were deposited on the altar, intermixed with much coal and ashes. They had all been subjected to a strong heat, which had broken up most of those which could be thus affected by its action. A large number of spear-heads, as they have been termed, beautifully chipped out of quartz and manganese garnet, had been placed here; but, out of a bushel or two of fragments, four specimens only were recovered entire. One of them is faithfully figured under the head of 'Implements.' A



FIG. 36. Cross section of altar in Mound No. 3.

quantity of the raw material, from which they were manufactured, was also found, consisting of large fragments of quartz and of crystals of garnet. Some of these crystals had been of large size, certainly not less than three or four inches in diameter. A single arrowpoint of *obsidian* was found; also a number of fine arrowheads of limpid quartz. One of these was four inches in length, and all were finely wrought. Judging from the quantity of fragments, some fifty or a hundred of these were originally deposited on the altar. Among the fragments were some large thin pieces of the same material, shaped like the blade of a knife. Two copper graters or chisels, one measuring six, the other eight inches in length, (see 'Implements'), also twenty or more tubes formed of thin strips of copper, an inch and a quarter long by three-eighths of an inch diameter, (see 'Ornaments') were found among the remains. A large quantity of pottery, much broken up, enough perhaps to have formed orig-

inally a dozen vessels of moderate size, was also discovered. Two vases have been very nearly restored. They resemble, in material and form, those already mentioned, and have similar markings on their exterior. (See '*Pottery*.') Also a couple of carved pipes; one of which, of beautiful model and fine finish, is cut out of a stone closely resembling, if indeed not identical with, the Potomac marble, of which the columns of the hall of the House of Representatives at Washington are made. The other is a bold figure of a bird, resembling the toucan, cut in white limestone.

"A portion of the contents of this mound were cemented together by a tufa-like substance of a gray color, resembling the scoriae of a furnace, and of great hardness. It was at first supposed to be carbonate of lime gradually deposited, in the lapse of time, from the water percolating through the outer stratum of limestone gravel and pebbles. The quantity however, covering as it did a large part of the basin to the depth of an inch or two, weighed strongly against such a conclusion; and a subsequent analysis demonstrated that it was made up in part of *phosphates*. A single fragment of partially calcined bone was found on the altar. It was the *patella* of the human skeleton.

"Such were the more important features of this interesting mound. It is evident that the enclosed altar had been often used, and several times remodeled, before it was finally heaped over. Why this was at last done, upon what occasion, and with what strange ceremonies, are questions which will probably forever remain unanswered."

#### THE CENTRAL CREMATORY

Since the principal value of the final examination of mound number 3 lies in its confirmation or modification of the earlier conclusions, through the exhaustive data afforded by complete removal of the tumulus, the object of this report can best be obtained by comment and comparison, based upon Squier and Davis' quoted description. For the most part their observations are obviously correct, or are of such a nature that no criteria, confirmatory or otherwise, remained to the final survey. What evidence this final examination did furnish, has to do mainly with the extent of the former excavations

and what they revealed, particularly with regard to what was supposed to be a great "altar", upwards of 60 feet in length, having at its center transverse partitions forming a minor basin as a depository for artifacts.

As the work of removing the mound was carried forward from the west side, following along the floor line, it was a very simple matter to locate and determine the shafts and connecting drifts made by Squier and Davis. In the first place, the characteristic sand strata were, of course, obliterated, while the earth that had been thrown back into the excavations, besides being homogenously mixed, was much looser than that composing the undisturbed portions of the mound. The entire floor space disclosed by the old shafts and connecting drifts, after being cleaned off, is shown in Fig. 37. It was found that the total extent of these was 22 feet in length and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet in width. From this comparatively small area had been drawn the conclusion regarding the so-called altar of upwards of 60 feet in length. Reference to the floor plan of the mound, shown as Fig. 38, will make clear to the observer just what Squier and Davis really observed on the floor exposed by their shafts, and what the real significance of their partial disclosure proved to be. Only their central shafts, it will be noted, were connected by drifts. The outer ones, sunk for test purposes, encountered the smooth hard floor, more or less burned and reddened, which they mistook for continuation of the basin disclosed at the center.

With the entire floor of the mound exposed by our survey, the surmises of three-quarters of a century were set at rest. It was found that near the center of



the structure there had been erected originally a crematory basin measuring 8 feet in length and 5 feet in width. This basin had been used continuously and intensively, with the result that the underlying earth was burned red to a depth of 12 inches. Moreover, long-continued use had necessitated repeated repairs, effected by replacing burned-out portions of its walls with fresh layers of clay. In the end, the basin had

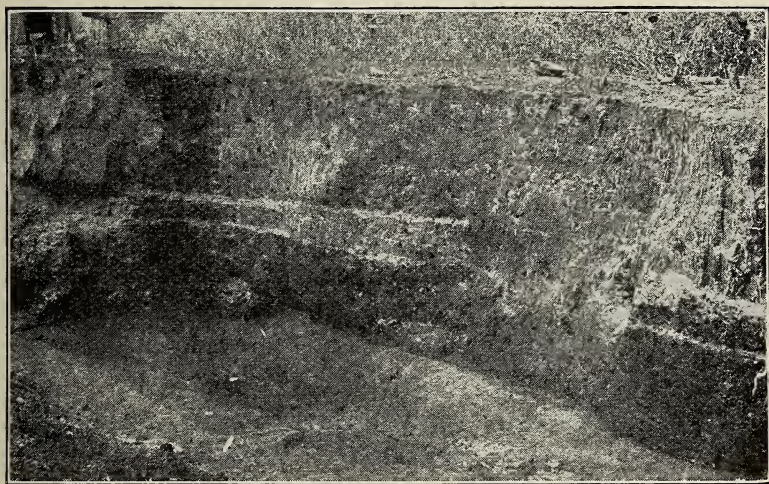


FIG. 37. Photograph showing entire length of floor space exposed by Squier & Davis, which measured twenty-two feet in length.

become unfit for use, through long service, and was abandoned for a new one.

The new crematory basin, it will be noted on the floor plan, was constructed at the north end of and directly in line with, the old basin; in fact, it actually overlapped the latter to the extent of about 18 inches. This new crematory basin measured 12 feet long and 7 feet wide, and was the largest of the entire Mound City group. The "minor basin or compartment" of

Squier and Davis proved to be merely the remaining portion of the old crematory, the raised end of which, at the south, formed one of the transverse partitions, the other of which was the south end of the new basin.

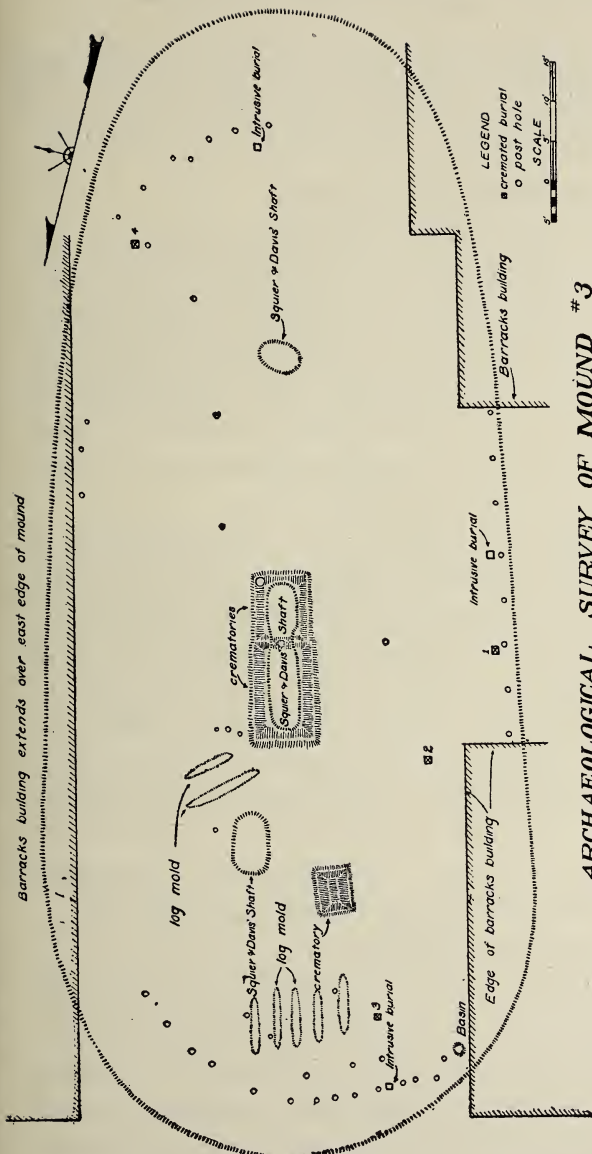
#### THE CENTRAL DEPOSITORY

Although the old basin had been abandoned as a crematory, it was made use of, as shown by Squier and Davis, and as confirmed by our survey, as a depository for funeral artifacts. Numerous broken specimens remained in and about this depository, overlooked in the original examination. These included pieces of quartz and garnet, both worked and unworked; pottery fragments; shell and pearl beads; perforated sharks' teeth; and objects of copper. On the floor to the northeast of the large crematory, had been placed two logs, as shown on the floor plan. These were 7 and 10 feet long, respectively, and about 9 or 10 inches in diameter.

A third crematory was found well toward the north end of the mound. This basin was unusually well-made, and measured 6 feet in length by  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet in width. To the northeast had been placed five logs, 6 feet long and 6 inches in diameter. These logs were laid in regular order, at a distance of about 15 inches from one another. On and about these were quantities of carbonaceous matter, apparently resulting from the burning of leaves and woven fabric. Nothing was present to indicate the purpose of these logs, laid thus in regular order upon the floor, unless perchance they may have served as seats or benches.

A carefully made circular basin-like depression lay at the northwest part of the mound, near the marginal

*Barracks building extends over east edge of mound*



# ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF MOUND #3

## MOUND CITY GROUP

### FIELD EXPLORATIONS

BY

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J.H. JEFFERSON SURVEYOR

FIG. 38. Floor plan of Mound No. 3.

post-molds. It measured 3 feet in diameter and about 5 inches in depth, was made from puddled clay, and was considerably burned. It was devoid of contents.

#### BURIALS OF THE MOUND

Only four burials were found in the entire mound. Burial number 1 lay near the western edge of the structure, and consisted simply of cremated bones without artifacts. Burial number 2, a few feet north and east from number 1, was somewhat more pretentious, in that it was covered by a small primary mound of earth. With the remains were a large button-shaped copper ornament and a necklace of shell beads.

Burial number 3 lay well toward the north end of the mound. The cremated bones, with the ashes carefully sifted out, lay upon the floor without preparation. Scattered over it and promiscuously about for several feet were numerous broken arrow- and spear-points made from a bluish-gray highly fossiliferous flint, presumably of the nodular limestone variety. Burial number 4, at the southeast corner of the mound, was without artifacts.

Three intrusive burials, found in the mound near its surface, are shown on the map of the floor plan. They were unaccompanied by artifacts.

The examination of mound number 3 was made difficult by the presence of barrack buildings on the east, northwest and south, and a thoroughfare on the north. The work of removing the component earth was accomplished only at the cost of considerable time and labor. While the post-molds corresponding to the outer circumference of the structure were traced for the greater part of their extent, this could not be done on the east



side owing to the encroachment of buildings, excepting at one point, toward the southeast. Here the work of excavation was carried eastward well into the adjacent mound, number 18, the purpose being to determine whether or not there had existed any definite connection between the two. While no physical connection existed between these mounds, it would seem probable that number 3, as well as number 18, as indicated in previous pages, served to some extent as supplemental or contributory to mound number 7.

#### MOUND NUMBER 21

Mound number 21 was one of several minor structures designated by Squier and Davis as "small mounds, devoid of altars", meaning by altars, of course, what now are recognized as crematory basins. At the time of our examination, the western one-half of this mound lay under a barrack building. The exposed eastern portion, which had been graded off to within about 10 inches of the floor, was examined late in 1920, the remaining portion being left until, one year later, the building was removed.

Examination of the eastern one-half disclosed two large crematories, separated by a space of about 4 feet, each showing evidences of long use. Under the edge of the barrack building, at about the center of the mound, was found a cremated burial with which were placed a necklace of shell beads and two specimens made of granite, highly polished and resembling in form the so-called discoidal stones.

Examination of the remainder of the mound, in 1921, brought to light a third crematory, well made

and showing long use. This mound doubtless served as a crematory site for others of the group.

### MOUND NUMBER 9

Mound number 9 was the last of the Mound City group to be examined. Its exploration had been delayed until October of 1921, when a building which had covered the greater portion thereof was removed. At the center of the mound was found a finely made crematory, 8 feet long, 6 feet wide and 6 inches deep. The basin showed long use and frequent repair.

A few feet to the south, and directly in line with this crematory, were placed five cremated burials, arranged in an unusual and interesting manner. Three of these occupied slightly elevated rectangular spaces, side by side, while directly south and adjacent to these were two others, occupying circular spaces. With one of these, number 13, were placed a few pieces of mica.

Of the 14 burials contained in the mound, none was accompanied by artifacts and, with the exceptions noted above, all were simple cremations placed without preparation upon the floor.

Examination of mound number 9 shows conclusively that the structure was auxiliary to mound number 8, in close proximity, from which Squier and Davis removed their remarkable find of pipes and other objects.

### ARTIFACTS TAKEN FROM THE MOUND CITY GROUP

Owing to the unusual and highly specialized character of the objects of human manufacture taken from the mounds of the Mound City group, it has been thought advisable to accord them a rather full description. Therefore, instead of complicating the preceding

text, wherein the exploration of the various tumuli is dealt with, these minor relics are considered in the following pages, under their respective headings.

#### POTTERY-WARE

The ceramic art seems to have occupied an important place in the economy of primitive man of the Mound City group. In the manufacture of pottery-ware, as in whatever else he undertook, he easily excelled others of the several culture groups whose remains are found in the Ohio archæological area. The builders of the Mound City group possessed, however, a variety of pottery-ware not greatly differing from the usual rather heavy ware of the lower cultures, and serving utility purposes. This ware, in fragments, was found rather freely in several mounds of the group, and doubtless represented vessels used ordinarily as containers, cooking pots, and so forth. This utility ware has been found in practically all the mounds of the culture examined, and while well made and serviceable, it presents no particular claim to being a highly developed product.

It is in a distinct and entirely different variety of ware that we find those qualities which make for a highly specialized ceramic product; a ware which, while doubtless serving as a utility, yet possessed decidedly artistic merit and which apparently served also in a ceremonial capacity. The principal characteristics of this ware are its unusual thinness and symmetrical forms; its exceptional quality, from the standpoint of serviceability; the elaboration of its decorative designs; and its possession of feet or legs for support. This last-named characteristic is a most decided departure

from the usual in primitive pottery, most of which merely has the rounded base, or bottom, without modification of any kind.

Explorations of other mounds of the Hopewell culture type, such as the Harness mound, south of Chillicothe; the Seip mound, in the Paint Creek Valley; and the Tremper mound, in the lower Scioto valley, had constantly produced potsherds bearing projections suggesting legs; but it was not until the finding of entire vessels in the Mound City group that they could be definitely identified as such.

Squier and Davis report finding numerous broken vessels, particularly in mounds number 2 and number 3. In a few instances they were able to effect complete or partial restorations, which are illustrated in their report. Fig. 39 shows one of these vessels, from mound number 2, as having a flat bottom. From the same mound our survey removed a vessel which, while



FIG. 39. Pottery restored from Mound No. 2, after Squier & Davis.



broken, readily lent itself to restoration. This pot, shown as Fig. 40, is similar to that of Squier and Davis, from the same mound, except that the bottom is rounded and is supplied with legs for its support. It is made of a fine grade of clay, tempered with broken shell, and is well burned. Its general form is square, with rounded corners, the top or rim being much more



FIG. 40. Pottery restored from Mound No. 2.

angular than the lower portions of the vessel. The rim is decorated in roulette, while each of the four panel-like faces of the vessel bears a highly conventionalized bird, presumably the duck. This design, resembling closely that of the Squier and Davis vessel, with the exception of the bill, appears, when viewed from a distance, to be in relief. This effect is due to the incised markings on the field of the vessel surrounding the bird.

The duck apparently is represented as in flight, or as resting on the water with wings raised.

Professor W. H. Holmes, in his *Aboriginal Pottery of the Eastern United States*, opposite page 192, marked "E Ohio", figures a vessel with similar decoration, locality of origin unknown. It seems very probable that this specimen is a restoration by Squier and Davis of a vessel from the Mound City group.

Another interesting pottery vessel is that shown as Fig. 41. This pot was found in a depository in mound

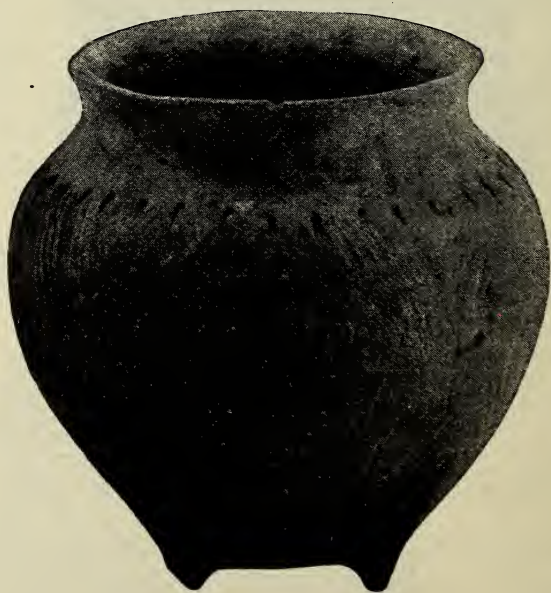


FIG. 41. Pottery restored from Mound No. 13.

number 13. It was in a broken condition, but the finding of practically every part permitted of an easy restoration. The vessel is round in form, 5 inches in height and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter at the center. The bottom is rounded, with four supporting legs. This vessel,

together with the above described pot from mound number 2, constitute, so far as known, the only entire vessels of their kind taken from the mounds of Ohio.

#### TOBACCO PIPES

The tobacco pipes taken from the mounds of the Mound City group by the final survey were not numerous, as compared with those found by Squier and Davis in mound number 8, or with those from the Tremper mound, in Scioto county. They were, however, very similar in character and of equally artistic execution. But three mounds of the group yielded pipes — numbers 2, 13 and 18. This, of course, is exclusive of the great find of pipes taken from mound number 8 by Squier and Davis, now exhibited in the Blackmore museum, at Salisbury, England, numerous remaining fragments of which were found by our survey.

Mound number 2 yielded but a single pipe, which was found in burial number 17. This was a miniature specimen, of the plain platform type, and is shown as Fig. 42. The platform base, which is curved, is  $1\frac{1}{2}$



FIG. 42. Small platform pipe  
from Mound No. 2.

inches long and a little less than one-half inch wide. The bowl, which is decorated by encircling incised lines, is one-half inch high, five-eighths of an inch in diameter at the center and slightly less at its top. The platform is drilled from both

ends, apparently to permit of the use of the specimen as a pendant or ornament.

The pipes found in mound number 13, as already

shown in the descriptive text, were all broken or fragmentary, and were confined to the ridged sides and ends of grave number 1, and to the peculiar deposit, number 5. From the total number of fragments and broken pipes, representing approximately 100 individual specimens, it was found possible to match and restore only a few of the number. It was apparent that the pipes deposited in this mound had been ceremonially broken elsewhere, and no care taken to retain the fragments in common.

The pipes taken from mound number 18, however, were unbroken. They were eight in number, and occupied burial number 6, over which had been erected a primary mound 2 feet in height.

#### PIPE REPRESENTING THE TOAD

Fig. 43 illustrates a pipe sculptured in the image of the toad. The specimen is from burial number 6 of

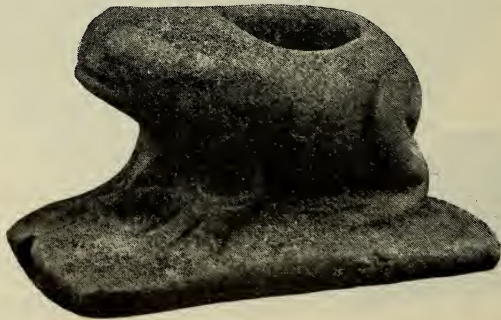


FIG. 43. Pipe in the effigy of the toad.

mound number 18. It is made of blue-gray Ohio pipestone, with a base  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches long and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches wide. The platform base, unlike most of those found in this group, as well as those from the Tremper mound, is



straight. The primitive sculptor did not succeed in portraying his subject with any great degree of accuracy in this specimen, nor is the detailed carving so good as in others from the same deposit.

#### SCULPTURE OF THE FROG

Two pipes carved to represent the frog were found, both within the ridges forming the sides of the intaglio grave of mound number 13. As with others of this deposit, they were broken, but careful search and sifting of the soil furnished the component parts and made possible their restoration. The pipe shown in Fig. 44 is

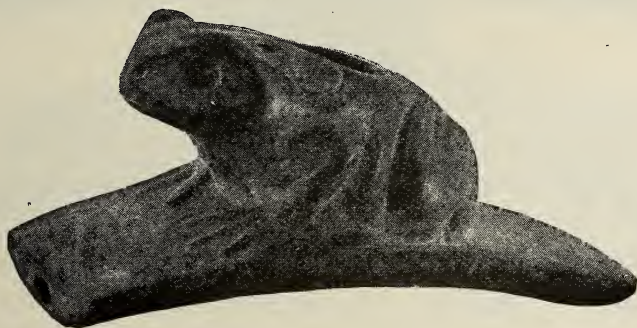


FIG. 44. Pipe in the effigy of the frog.

an excellent example of prehistoric sculpture, and possesses considerable artistic merit. The slightly curved platform is flat on top, convex beneath, and measures  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches long and 1 inch wide. The material is a dark gray Ohio pipestone. The primitive artist has carved in detail the body markings of the animal, the eyes of which doubtless have been set with copper or fresh-water pearls.

Figure 45, representing the frog, is perhaps the finest example of sculpture found by our survey in the

Mound City group. The carving is exceptionally good and the specimen has been carefully finished and polished. The material is dark chocolate-colored Ohio



FIG. 45. Pipe in the effigy of the frog.

pipestone. The slightly curved platform is squared at the front, or drilled end, and rounded at the rear. It measures 4 inches long and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide. This pipe stands alone in artistic conception and execution, the sculpture showing remarkable fidelity to nature in both form and posture.

#### PIPES REPRESENTING THE CROW

The two sculptures of the crow were found, as were the frog pipes, in the deposit attending grave number 1, of mound number 13, and in common with others similarly placed, were broken. Fortunately, however, they were among the few of the 100 or more represented by fragments in the deposit, which could be restored. The pipe shown as Fig. 46 is an exceptional sculpture, both with respect to its fidelity to life and the care with which the feathering is depicted by the artist. An interesting feature of this pipe is more noticeable

in the specimen itself than in the cut. Originally made from a light tan colored pipestone, portions of the specimen, when ceremonially broken, were thrown upon the crematory fire, while other fragments fell outside the fire. The former were discolored by the heat to a rich brownish-black, while the latter retain the light color of the original material.



FIG. 46. Pipe in the effigy of the crow, length of base  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

Another sculpture of the crow, the largest effigy pipe found in the Mound City group, is shown as Fig. 47. This specimen is made of dark bluish-drab pipestone. The curved base, rounded in front and squared at the rear, is 5 inches in length, while the image of the bird itself is 2 inches high and 4 inches long. The sculpture of this specimen is not as good as in the preceding one, although the general form is fairly true to nature. The perforations for the eyes, which apparently were pearls, are drilled entirely through the head of the bird. It is probable that in this manner the pearls inserted for eyes could be secured, one to the other, by means of a cord,





FIG. 47. Pipe in the effigy of the crow, length of base 5 inches.

a process not infrequently employed in the Hopewell culture in setting pearls into bear teeth and other objects used as ornaments.

#### EFFIGY OF THE PHEASANT

Fig. 48 shows a full-sized photograph of a pipe representing the pheasant, from mound number 18. The



FIG. 48. Pipe in the effigy of the pheasant.



primitive artist has portrayed the pheasant in the attitude of "drumming", as evidenced by the erect fan-like spread of the tail, the rigidity of the wings, the pouched neck and the elevated "top knot", or crest, the last-named represented in the specimen by horn-like projections. The bird in question is the *Bonasa umbellus*, or ruffed grouse, locally known as the partridge or pheasant. The base or platform of this pipe is rectangular, with rounded corners, flat above and rounded below, and is 4 inches long by  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches wide. It is fashioned from light-gray Ohio pipestone.

#### SCULPTURE OF THE RABBIT

Fig. 49 shows a pipe made in the image of the rabbit, in the sitting posture. The specimen is made of gray Ohio pipestone, the base being  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches long and one inch wide. This pipe is smaller than is usual, but is quite well done, depicting the animal as seen at rest.

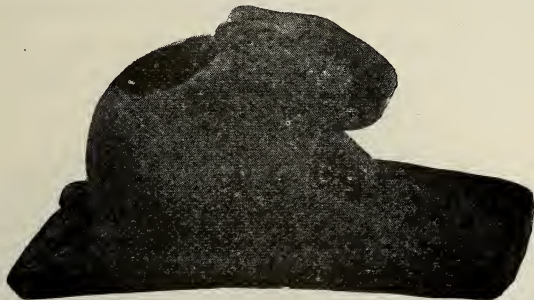


FIG. 49. Pipe in the effigy of the rabbit.

#### PIPE IN THE IMAGE OF THE OTTER

A photograph of a pipe representing the otter is shown as Fig. 50. This pipe is made from a pudding-stone conglomerate, the base being  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches in length, slightly concaved above and convex below. The hard

pebbles of the conglomerate make a striking contrast in color to the softer and somewhat weathered base or matrix in which they are embedded.



FIG. 50. Pipe in the effigy of the otter.

Several pipes representing the otter were found by Squier and Davis in mound number 8, and were identified by them as the *manatus*, a marine animal, which is, of course, entirely foreign to Ohio. A number of fine sculptured pipes of the otter, several displaying their marked characteristic by holding fish in their mouths, were found in the Tremper mound in the lower Scioto valley. These pipes, unmistakably the otter, are very similar to those identified by Squier and Davis as the *manatus*.

#### PLAIN PLATFORM PIPES

The platform pipe shown as Fig. 51 was found along with the above-described image pipes, in burial number 6 of mound number 18. It is made of Ohio pipestone, of a dark gray color, the platform being well curved, rectangular, with slightly rounded corners, and 4 inches in length. The top of the platform is slightly concave, while the bottom is decidedly convex. The bowl is greatly enlarged at the platform, gradually lessens toward the center, and then expands into a rim at the top, where it is decorated by 6 deep notches. The



FIG. 51. Plain platform pipe with decorated bowl.

rim of the pipe thus presents something of flower form.

Another plain platform pipe, from the same grave as the above, is shown in Fig. 52. This specimen, like the other pipe, is made from a conglomerate. Its platform is but 3 inches in length, and only slightly curved.

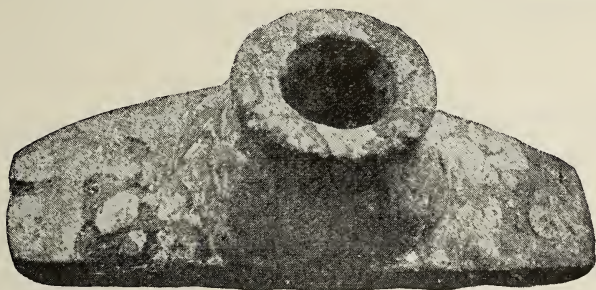


FIG. 52. Plain platform pipe.

An interesting observation upon the ceremonial breaking up or "killing" of specimens deposited with cremated remains is had in connection with the pipes found in the Mound City group, particularly those of mound number 13. In this mound, both in grave num-

ber 1 and in depository number 5, were found numerous fragments of pipes. In the subsequent work of piecing these together to form entire specimens, it was found that only a few whole pipes were represented and that parts of most of the entire number had not been included with the pieces found. It seemed evident that fragments of a given specimen had been deposited in two or more places, and this belief was strengthened by the discovery that portions of a pipe found in grave number 1 completed a specimen, the parts of which were found in depository number 5, some distance removed. It is known that a great many of the pipes found by Squier and Davis in mound number 8 could not be restored because portions thereof were not among the many fragments of their find. It seems very probable that many of their fragments correspond to unmatched fragments taken by our survey from mound number 13, and that the incomplete pipes from the two mounds would furnish a number of complete restorations.

#### BONE IMPLEMENTS

Very few implements made of bone were found in the mounds of the group, which is rather unusual, since most mounds of the culture hitherto examined have furnished fairly abundant evidence of such artifacts. A fine bone needle,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length, was found near the southwest corner of crematory number 1, in mound number 18, apparently intentionally placed. A large bone awl was found with burial number 5, in mound number 7. It measured 5 inches in length and was made from the metapodial bone of the deer. Other bone implements found were mainly those used as digging tools during the construction of the mound, and



comprised shoulder-blades of the deer and various other deer and animal bones suited to the purpose. These digging tools were carried upon the mound during its erection and covered with earth, either through accident or design.

#### CHIPPED FLINT IMPLEMENTS

##### ARROW-POINTS

Arrow-points chipped from flint were sparingly found in the burials of the Mound City group. In a depository of mound number 13, two perfect flint points were found, while in mound number 3, surrounding a burial at the north end, were several hundred parts of broken flint arrow-points, of unusual forms and exceptionally skilled workmanship.

In the great central depository of mound number 3 were found a number of broken arrow-points made of crystal quartz and garnet, or manganese quartz — what remained of the large deposit of similar specimens removed by Squier and Davis. As a whole, the chipped arrow-points found throughout the group were exceptionally well made, indicating the existence of a master hand in the art of chipping flint and similar materials.

##### CHIPPED SPEAR-POINTS

Many broken spear-points of flint were found in mounds numbers 13, 18, 7 and 3, but no perfect specimens of that material were secured. These broken flint spear-points were particularly in evidence upon the central floor of mound number 3, where many fragments showed that they were parts of specimens 3 inches or more in width. These large and finely made spear-points, a number of which apparently had been

12 inches or more in length, doubtless were highly ceremonial as to usage. More than 20 pounds of broken spears were found in this mound. Similar specimens of from 6 to 9 inches in length, were found completely shattered by heat, with burials of mound number 7.

The largest and finest spear-points found, in perfect condition, were chipped from obsidian. Of these, all of which were placed with burials, the largest measured 9 inches in length by 4 inches in width. This specimen is shown as Fig. 53. This fine spear-point, a masterpiece of the chipper's art, was found along with the specimen shown in Fig. 54 with burial number 3 of mound number 13.

Another beautiful obsidian spear-point is shown in Fig. 55, a specimen remarkable for its symmetry and pleasing design. It is 8 inches in length, and is extremely thin and well made, the material being almost transparent, as may be seen in the cut. It was found, together with another similar in size and design, with burial number 12, mound number 7. A number of finely made obsidian spear-points completely shattered by fire were found with cremated burials in the several mounds.

#### FLAKED KNIVES

Flake knives and the flint cores from which they were struck off were not particularly abundant, but rather general in their occurrence. They were found with cremated burials in mounds numbers 8, 13, 18, 7 and 3.

A specimen of knife chipped from obsidian, shown as Fig. 56, was found in depository number 5 of mound number 13. This type of knife is somewhat character-

istic of the Hopewell culture, and apparently was fastened into a wooden handle. The flake knife, however, was much more general in its use.



FIG. 53. Spear-point of obsidian,  
9 inches long, 4 inches wide.



FIG. 54. Spear-point of  
obsidian,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches  
long.

#### IMPLEMENTS MADE OF COPPER

The copper implements taken from the Mound City group were few in number, but they were exceedingly well made.

A copper axe,  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches in length, and having a double-bit, is shown as Fig. 57. The bits have widths of 2 inches and 3 inches, respectively. The axe is flat



FIG. 55. Spear-point of obsidian, 8 inches long.  
(526)



on one side and convex on the other, indicating that the implement had been made by hammering the copper into a die. This implement was found associated with a small amount of cremated human remains, placed four feet above the floor well toward the south side of the mound. A second copper axe is shown as Fig. 58.

This axe was found with burial number 13 of mound number 7, and is  $6\frac{3}{4}$  inches long and  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches wide at the bit. For the most part the copper axes used by this culture were hammered out in a die, but in this instance the implement appears to have been made without any such assistance. The edges of the implement are square and its thickness more than  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch. The copper has oxidized into a beautiful blue azurite. Copper drills or perforators were but sparingly found, mounds numbers 8 and 13 each yielding a single specimen. That from burial number

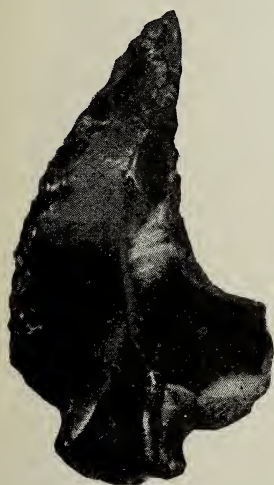


FIG. 56. Knife made of obsidian.

3, mound number 8, is 8 inches in length and  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch in diameter at the center, and tapers toward the ends. The specimen is perhaps the finest taken from an Ohio mound. Another drill,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches long and  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch in diameter, is square at the center, tapering to a sharp point at either end. A drill similar to the above was found by Squier and Davis in mound number 3, and three similar specimens were secured from the Seip mound by the Society's survey.



FIG. 57. Copper axe, double-bitted, Mound No. 7.

## ORNAMENTS OF COPPER

The numerous and highly specialized artifacts of copper, serving ornamental and ceremonial purposes, were the striking feature of the exploration of the Mound City group of earthworks. While the usual types of copper objects, characteristic of the culture, were present as had been expected, it was most gratifying to find, as the work of examination progressed, that a number of entirely new and highly artistic forms were rewarding the labor necessary to exhaustively explore the group.

## COPPER BREAST-PLATES

Under the heading of copper plates there are here included a number of rather complex artifacts which, upon casual observation, might appear to be entirely distinctive types. Further

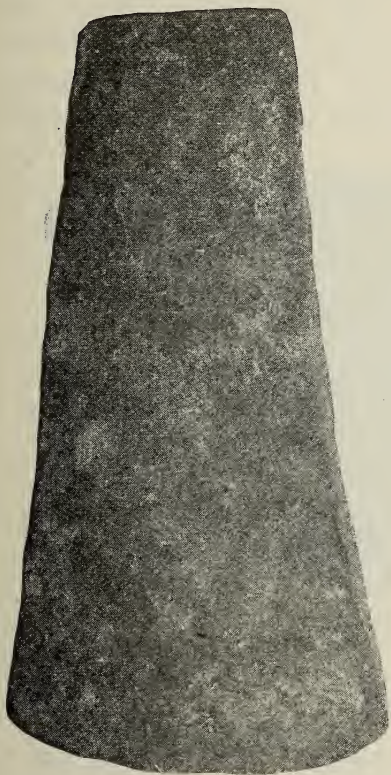


FIG. 58. Copper axe from burial 13,  
Mound No. 7.

study of these specimens, however, leads to the conclusion that they are not, after all, to be so classified, and that the apparent difference between them and the well-known plain rectangular copper plate, characteristic of



the culture, is merely that which would be expected of a community so advanced in every respect as were the builders of the Mound City group.

Of the plain copper breast-plates, three perfect and four damaged specimens were found. In Fig. 59 is shown the largest of these, which measures almost 12 inches in length and 6 inches wide. It is from burial number 12, of mound number 7, and had been covered with some sort of fur which, in the oxidation of the

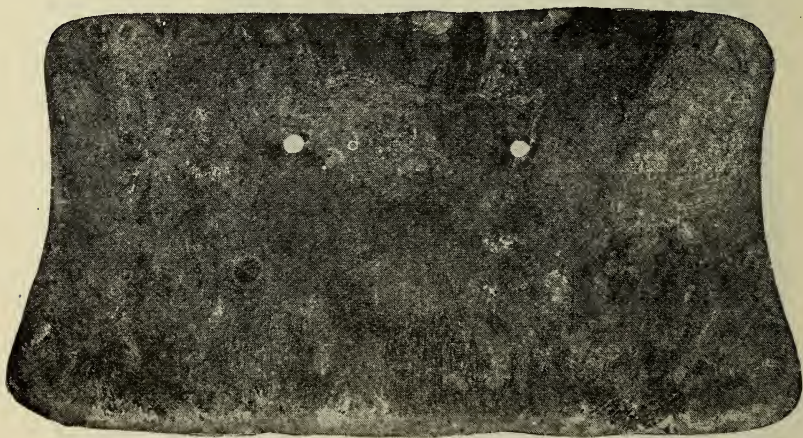


FIG. 59. Copper plate, 12 inches long, 6 inches wide.

metal has been sufficiently preserved to show its presence. This plate may be taken as a typical example of those found generally in the mounds of the Hopewell culture, previously explored. They are slightly convex at the sides, while the ends tend to be concave, with the corners somewhat rounded. They are always pierced with two holes, about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches apart and about an inch from the upper edge, for attachment. The plates usually are found associated with woven fabric, tanned



skin and furs. A number of plates of this type were taken from the Harness mound, 8 miles south of Chillicothe, all of which were covered with skins or woven fabric. At the Seip mound, 3 miles east of Bainbridge, in the Paint Creek valley, 16 similar plates were found, all of which had associated with them woven fabric or tanned skins. Apparently these fabrics, skins and furs comprised parts of the clothing of the individuals who possessed the copper plates, and were placed together with the cremated remains in the grave. The oxidation of the copper resulted in preserving whatever of a perishable nature happened to be in contact with the metal.

The more elaborate plates, found exclusively in the Mound City group, are of two general classes—the repousse, in which the decoration or design is effected in relief by hammering or pressure upon the thin copper plate; and the scroll, or “cut-out” pattern. The dominant decorative motif for these plates is the eagle, the treatment of which ranges from the strikingly realistic to the highly conventional. The series of plates taken from the large central grave of mound number 7 affords an extremely impressive example of aboriginal development and use of conventional design. The plates forming this series are those shown as Figs. 60 and 61, in which the flying eagle is depicted in as realistic a manner as lay within the skill of the primitive artist; Fig. 62, in which the eagle-head furnishes the decorative motif for each corner of a rectangular design, the four heads being joined together by a most pleasing conventional design; and Fig. 63, a scroll or cut-out plate, in which the eagle-head continues in evidence, but so highly conventionalized that, but for its association with others



FIG. 60. Flying eagle in copper,  $12\frac{1}{2}$  inches long by 8 inches wide.



FIG. 61. Flying eagle in copper, 13 inches long by 8 inches wide.



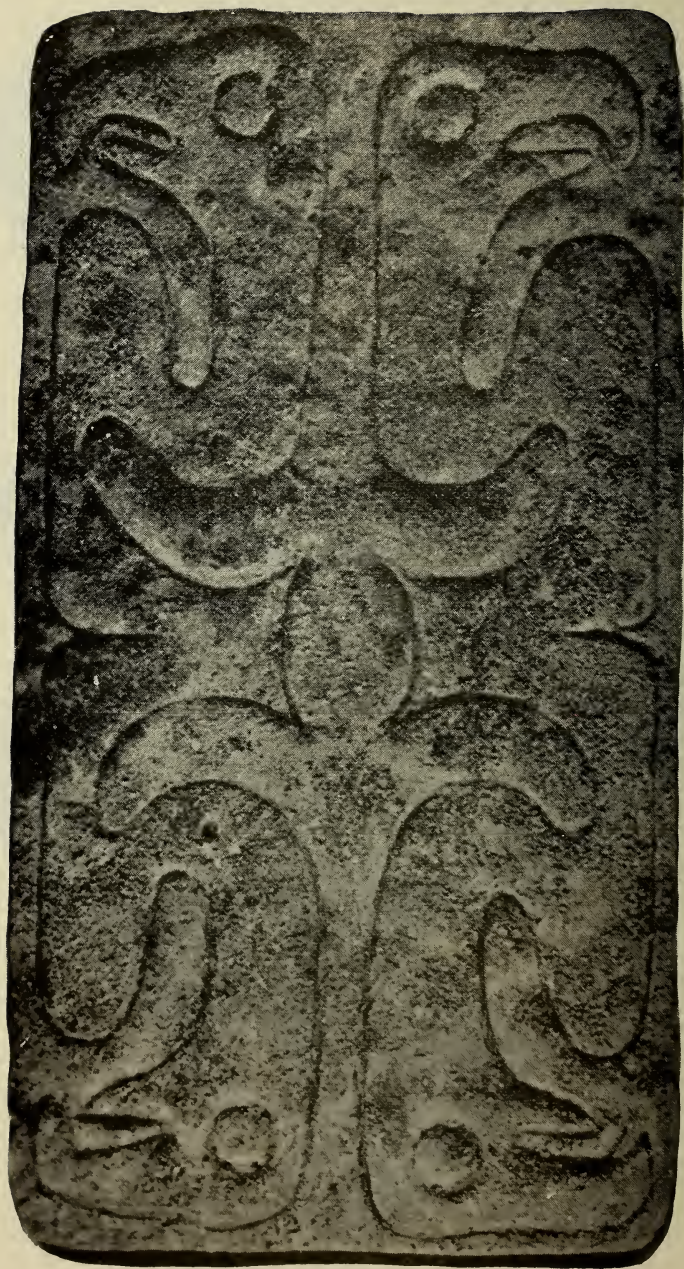


FIG. 62. Copper plate showing four eagle heads in repousse. Size 10 inches by 5½ inches.





FIG. 63. Copper plate with conventional eagle heads  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches long by  $5\frac{1}{4}$  inches wide.

of the series, the design would hardly be recognized as such.

In this connection, the plates shown in Fig. 64, representing a conventional double-headed eagle, are of

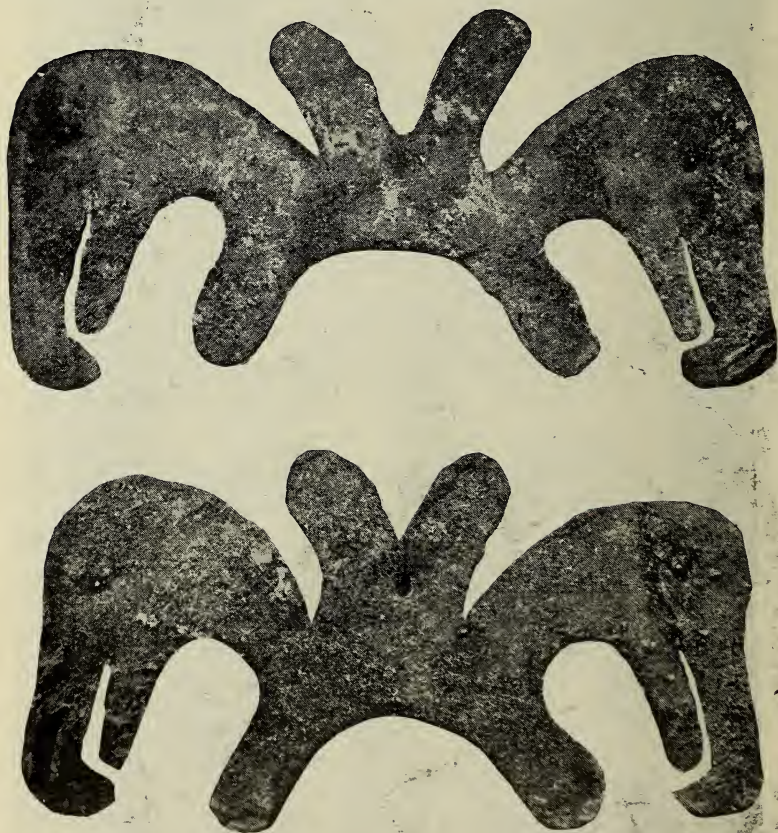


FIG. 64. Copper plates representing the double head eagle.

further interest. These plates were found in burial number 2, of mound number 13. In addition to the two shown in the cut, a third, similar in every way, was found. The specimens are 5 inches long and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide, with a thickness of approximately  $\frac{1}{16}$  of an inch.



The two plates portraying the eagle realistically are shown in Figs. 60 and 61. Both are from the great central grave of mound number 7. That shown as Fig. 60 measures  $12\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length and 8 inches in width and has a thickness of from  $\frac{1}{16}$  to  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch. The repousse



FIG. 65. Effigy eagle  
in copper,  $10\frac{1}{4}$   
inches long by  $2\frac{1}{2}$   
inches wide.

work on the head and wings is well and boldly executed. The specimen shows contact with woven fabric. The second plate, Fig. 61, is larger than the preceding, but is not so well made. It is  $13\frac{1}{2}$  inches long and 8 inches wide. The plate, when placed in the grave, was covered by a woven fabric, the imprint of which remains plainly visible. The head and breast markings are quite prominent but the repousse work on the wings is not so marked as that of its companion specimen. The tail feathers terminate in sharp points, while those of the first-mentioned plate are rounded.

A third plate depicting the eagle in a realistic pose is shown as Fig. 65. This specimen was found in burial number 12 of mound number 7. It is  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches long and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide, and is deeply convexed from front to back, corresponding with the contour of the bird represented. The position is that of standing, or as the bird would appear perched at rest. The repousse markings of the head, breast and wings are marked. The plate had been wrapped in woven fabric, and at the neck, on the inner or rear side,

is a large pearl bead, secured by a cord passing through the metal.

The plate shown as Fig. 62 illustrates a natural and easy transition from the realistic to the conventional. The eagle head, placed in each of the four corners of the rectangular specimen, is fairly realistic, but the excellent figure forming the connection and occupying the central portion of the plate is highly conventional. This plate, which is from the central grave of mound number 7, measures 10 inches long and  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide. It occupied a corner of the platform-like grave, and was associated with a quantity of woven bark matting, a description of which will be given presently. This plate is unique, in so far as known, and is an unsurpassed example of primitive repousse work. The eagle cut in copper has not been previously found in the Ohio mounds, and it was most gratifying to find it not singly but in numbers, in the present explorations. Although not occurring previously in copper, Squier and Davis found the eagle sculptured in stone in the tobacco pipes from mound number 8, the same being true of our own examination of the Tremper mound of Scioto County.

The most highly conventionalized of the several eagle plates is that shown as Fig. 63. This plate, from the central grave, mound number 7, is  $9\frac{1}{4}$  inches long and  $5\frac{1}{4}$  inches wide. Apart from its interest as one of the striking series of plates from the great central grave of mound number 7, it is, individually, an exceedingly striking piece of primitive art.

Two interesting copper plates, evidently conventional in their nature, are shown as Fig. 66. In this instance there is a departure from the use of the eagle, the motif apparently being the bat. These specimens



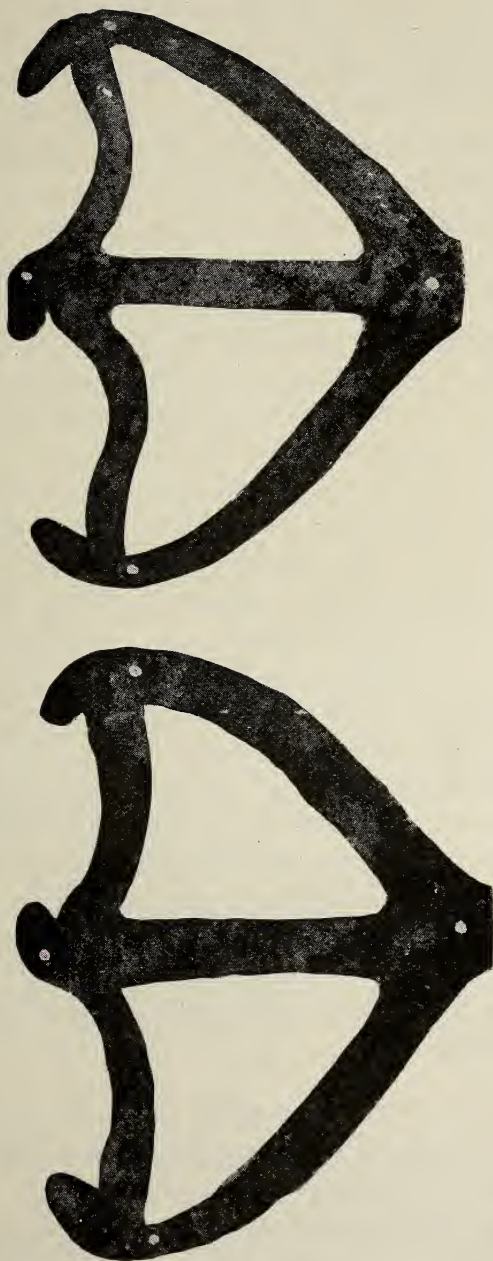


FIG. 66. Effigy bats in copper, each  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches by 5 inches.

were found together in grave number 12, mound number 7. They were deposited at the north side of the raised platform accommodating the burial and were closely associated with a number of stars cut from copper, and with quantities of burned woven fabric. The plates are of practically the same size, measuring  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches by 5 inches. Each is pierced with four holes and apparently the pair had been sewed to fabric forming parts of clothing or ceremonial costumes. The projections corresponding to the heads are turned to right and left respectively.

An interesting feature of one of these plates is the fact that it had been broken and the damaged wing repaired by riveting a strip of copper across the break on its reverse surface. Several striking instances of the use of rivets for repairs were found in the Mound City group, although such practice has not been observed in other mounds of the culture previously explored. The nearest approach to riveting heretofore noted was in the Tremper mound, where broken pipes of stone were mended by drilling holes contiguously in the fractured parts and uniting them by means of dowel pins. In addition to the bat plates, mentioned above, further evidences of riveting in the specimens from Mound City will be noted in connection with the bear-effigy head-dress and the effigy human hands, from mound number 13.

#### HEAD-DRESSES OF COPPER

Head-dresses of various kinds were found in a number of burials of the Mound City group. Some of these were plain plates of copper, made helmet-like to conform to the crown of the head; others were

fashioned from copper in the image of some animal; while still others were combinations of copper, such as imitation deer antlers, and woven fabric. Doubtless feathers and other perishable materials were freely used in fashioning the head-dress as well as in other parts of the native costumes and ceremonial garments.

The plain copper head-dress was usually concavo-convex in form, corresponding closely to the contour of the human head. They averaged approximately 10 inches in length and 3 to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in width. The photograph of the large mica grave, number 1, of mound number 13, reproduced as Fig. 11, shows one of the plain type of head-dress in place with the burial.

A human effigy head-dress, from burial number 12, mound number 7, is shown in Fig. 67. This specimen, representing the human figure, but without head or hands, assumes the form of the plain head-dress, and measures 10 inches long and 3 inches wide. It has perforations for attachment at the neck and feet, and the manner of wearing is well illustrated in a sculptured human effigy pipe taken from the Adena mound, in Ross County.\*

A head-dress made in the image of the bear is shown in Fig. 68. From its general form and character it is inferred that it was the principal part of an elaborate head-covering, the remainder of which doubtless consisted of woven fabric and other materials of a perishable nature.

The effigy is ingeniously constructed from a plate of copper about  $\frac{1}{16}$  of an inch in thickness. The body and head of the animal are fashioned from one piece

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\**Certain Mounds and Village Sites in Ohio*, Vol. I, page 29; Mills.



FIG. 67. Human effigy head-dress of copper  
(542)



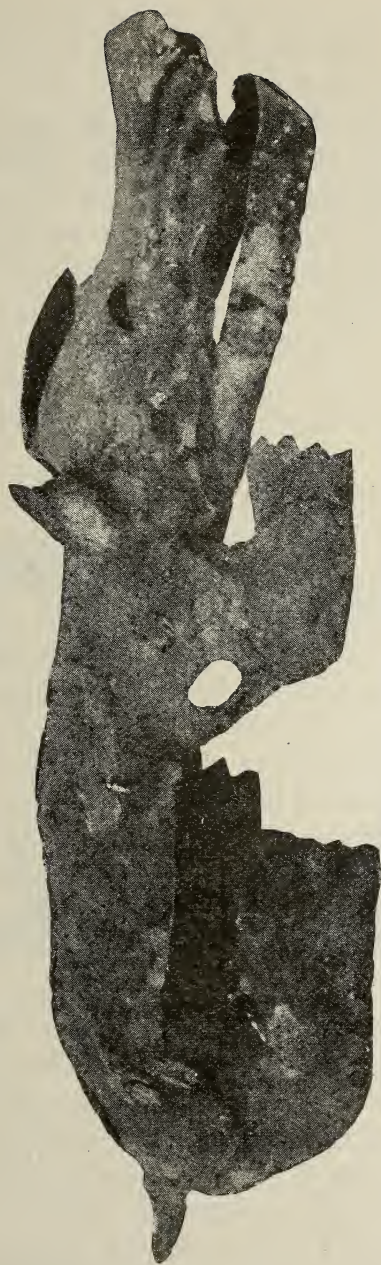


FIG. 68. Bear effigy head-dress of copper.

of metal, concavo-convex in form, while the legs are separate pieces, attached to the body by copper rivets. The lower jaw is similarly attached, while the ears are secured to the head through slits in the metal, their inner ends bent at angles to hold them in place, the result of this ingenious arrangement being that the ears would move readily with every motion of the wearer. The eyes are represented by elongated slits, and the greatly exaggerated nose is boldly repoussed, giving something of the effect of the snarling and baring of the teeth.

An interesting form of head-dress comes from graves numbers 3 and 4 of mound number 13. These are in imitation of the antlers of the deer, fashioned from copper. These doubtless were used in conjunction with and attached to bonnet-like coverings of skins and fabrics, as indicated by the provision left at the base of each for attachment. Three sets of these interesting imitation antlers were secured — one set with a single tine, a second set with 3 tines and a third with 4 tines each. The single-tine set are made from copper hammered to a thickness of  $\frac{1}{16}$  of an inch, and then rolled into the proper shape and dimension to form the horn.

The sets of 3 and 4 tined antlers are shown as Fig. 69. The method of attachment to the fabric is plainly visible in the photograph, that of the 3-tined set being by means of tabs at the base, to be passed through the cloth or skin and clinched, while that of the 4-tined set is by means of a cord passing through perforations at the base and through the fabric.

Effigy antlers of copper are exceedingly unusual in the mounds of Ohio, and the above examples are the

only ones brought to light by the surveys of this institution. Professor W. K. Moorehead, in his examination of the Hopewell group, a few miles west from Mound City, secured an antler head-dress,\* which, together



FIG. 69. Deer effigy head-dress of copper.

with those above described, constitute the only specimens recorded from Ohio mounds.

An effigy horn of copper, apparently representing the horn of the mountain goat, was taken from burial number 12, of mound number 7. This object, which apparently formed the central and principal part of a

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\**The Antiquarian*, Vol. I.  
Vol. XXXI—35.

head-dress, is shown as Fig. 70. The specimen is 10 inches in length, 2 inches in diameter at the center, and is boldly corrugated from base to tip. From the appearance of the specimen, it is not improbable that it consisted originally of a genuine horn, over which the copper plate was fashioned as a covering. No evidence remained, however, of the original horn. No record exists of the presence in Ohio of the mountain goat, either in historic or prehistoric times, hence the inference is that it may easily have been a product of commerce with the aborigines of the Mound City group,



FIG. 70. Mountain goat-horn effigy of copper.

along with obsidian, copper and other commodities from distant sources.

One of the most elaborate of the head-dresses discovered was a part of the extensive deposit in burial number 9, mound number 7. This head-dress was of unusual size and intricacy, and comprised great quantities of woven fabric, skins and furs, supplemented by horns made from copper. Unfortunately, the perishable materials were almost completely decomposed, while the copper forming the several short straight horns was so extremely thin that little remained but





scales and imprints in the soil. Great care in removing the covering of earth merely made possible its identification, but its removal, even in parts, was most difficult and restoration has not been effected. The specimen appeared to have had something the form of a helmet, and the horns, straight and approximately 6 inches long, suggested those of a young buffalo.

#### MUSHROOM EFFIGY IN COPPER

In Fig. 71 is shown a remarkable effigy of a mushroom, evidently intended to represent the so-called death-cup, or deadly amanita. This specimen, which probably served as a wand or baton, occupied the center of the raised platform of the great central grave, mound number 7. It had been placed upon a large sheet of mica, and over it were heaped the cremated remains comprising the burial. The length of the effigy is  $13\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The specimen is made of wood, covered with thin copper. The stem, which is 13 inches in length, is about an inch at the base and half an inch in diameter where it joins the cap. The connection between the stem and the cap is effected by means of a hole through

FIG. 71. Effigy of the death cup.

the latter, through which the stem is inserted. The cap is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, and its covering of thin copper is carried directly onto the stem, thus reinforcing the connection between the two. The frill or ring around the stem of the specimen, corresponding to the death-cup of the toadstool, was quite pronounced when removed from the grave, but in transportation the frail copper covering was somewhat broken away. The specimen, in so far as known, is unique in the Ohio field.

The various mushrooms doubtless were well known to the Ohio aborigines, who presumably would upon occasion use them as food. It seems not at all unlikely that in the general course of events they should have learned the deadly character of this amanita — an object to be avoided as food, but possibly of use to them in some other way, as a direct result of its poisonous qualities.

#### MINOR ORNAMENTS OF COPPER

In addition to the above-described copper breast-plates, numerous minor ornaments of copper were found with the burials of the group. These comprised such objects as effigies of the turtle, the human hand, the human torso, imitation teeth of the alligator, and various types of pendants. The type of copper pendant most in evidence was the elongate ovoid, or leaf-shape form, concavo-convex in section. These were made of unusually thin sheets of copper and consequently were very fragile after their long interment under ground. Many of them were mere shells of salts of copper, but others were removed in excellent condition. From burial number 16 of mound number 2, were taken 17 of this type of pendant, from 4 to 6

inches in length and 1 inch to  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches in width. With each specimen were several shell or pearl beads, comprising a short string, usually secured to the under or concave side of the pendant through corrosion of the metal. The pendants were perforated with two holes near the margin of the base or larger end for attachment to a belt or clothing, or for use as a necklace.

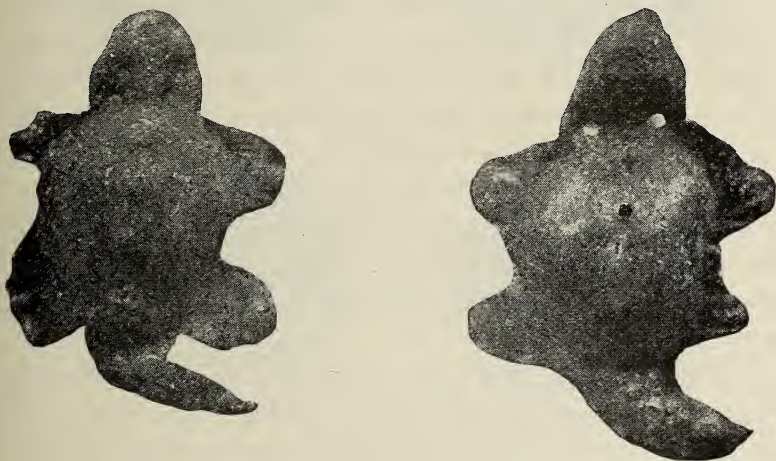


FIG. 72. Effigy turtles made of copper, Deposit 5, Mound No. 13.

In Fig. 72 is shown a type of turtle effigy in copper, 8 of which were found in deposit number 5 of mound number 13. They are fashioned from single pieces of thin copper. With these, in the same deposit, were a number of small copper crosses, made from very thin

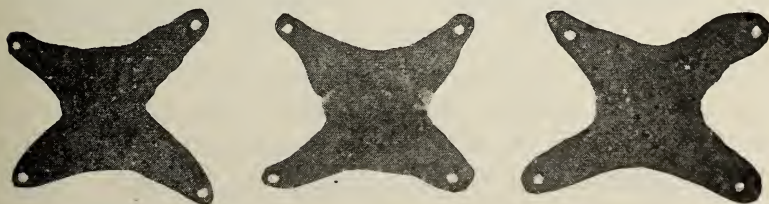


FIG. 73. Crosses made of copper, deposit 5, Mound No. 13.

metal and having the edges turned backward to produce a convex face. These crosses suggest the large copper objects, double-crescent in form, taken from the Tremper mound and found in several other works of the Hopewell culture. Both the turtles and the crosses from mound number 13 are perforated for attachment to belts or clothing.

Fig. 74 presents another form of turtle effigy in copper. These specimens, 18 in number, are from burial number 12, mound number 7, and comprised part of a very pretentious and ingeniously constructed belt. The belt proper was of leather, those portions of which were in contact with the metal being clearly preserved. The belt was embellished by having sewed upon it, side by side, the 18 turtles, inside of which were a number of small beads or quartz pebbles, thus forming of each a rattle.

The effigy turtles were all of a size, measuring 2 inches in length and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in width. The carapace, or upper shell, and the plastron, are constructed of separate pieces of copper, attached to form the completed turtle by hammering together their overlapping portions. As will be noticed in the cut, each carapace is pierced with 12 holes, extending from the line of the front foot, on each side, to top center of the shell, and thence to the hind foot, forming a semi-circle or modified triangle. These perforations presumably are intended to represent the shell markings of the animal. The plastrons themselves are ingenious, formed of two pieces of copper plate so joined that one portion furnished a flap for additional attachment to the belt, thus supplementing the attachment by sewing. This latter was accomplished by the use of a heavy thread or



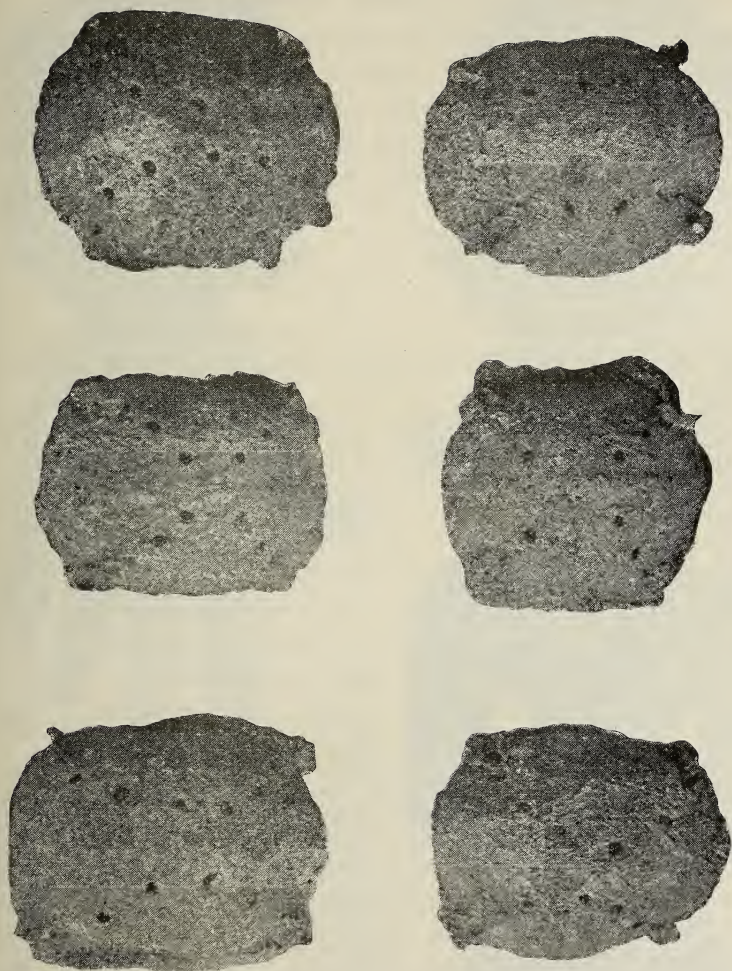


FIG. 74. Effigy turtles made of copper from burial No. 12, Mound No. 7.

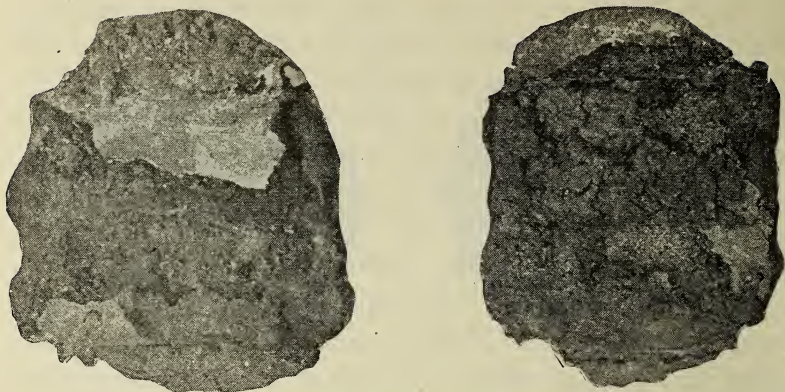


FIG. 75. Effigy turtles of copper showing manner of attachment to belt.

cord, passed through each of the four corners of the shell through the underlying belt. The corroded cords, preserved by the copper salts, may be noted on the specimens.



FIG. 76. Effigy of human torso made of copper, length  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches.

A very interesting copper ornament, found in burial number 11, mound number 13, is shown in Fig. 76. The object, which represents the human torso, has perforations at the neck for attachment to clothing or head-dress. It measures  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches in length.

In Fig. 77 are shown a pair of effigy human hands in copper. They measure 4 inches in length, and the thin copper from which

they are fashioned, measuring approximately  $\frac{1}{16}$  inch in thickness, is finely preserved. An interesting feature of these specimens is that in pounding the nugget copper into such thin sheets, several small holes resulted, which were cleverly repaired by the insertion of copper plugs and the riveting of these on both sides. This was the first instance, but as already noted not the



FIG. 77. Effigy of human hands made of copper, length 4 inches.

only one, in which was found an attempt to mend copper objects in this manner, by the use of rivets. The employment of riveting, which applied not only to mending, but also to manufacture, as in the instance of the effigy bear head-dress, previously described, is regarded as a most marked stride in cultural advancement.

Other copper ornaments, found in goodly numbers, are the star-like objects illustrated in Fig. 78. These were taken from burial number 12, mound number 7. All of the specimens, more than a dozen in num-



ber, are similarly made, from thin copper, with a large circular opening at the center. With the exception of one 10-rayed specimen, all have 11 rays.

In deposit number 5, mound number 13, were found a number of tubular copper beads, about an inch in length, rolled from thin metal. With these were several copper bangles, similar in manufacture, except that one end is closed, or pointed, after the manner of the conical

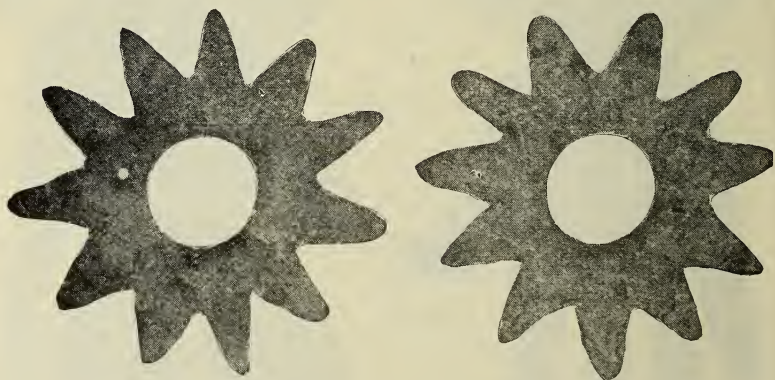


FIG. 78. Copper star-like ornaments.

metal bangles so generally used by the western Indians of later days.

From burial number 3 of mound number 2 were taken a necklace of effigy teeth of the alligator, made of copper. Although the real alligator teeth were found in the Seip mound, west of Chillicothe, the present specimens are the only effigy teeth of the kind so far taken from Ohio mounds.

#### EAR ORNAMENTS OF COPPER AND SILVER

The spool-shaped ear ornaments, so characteristic of the Hopewell culture, were fairly plentiful in the Mound City group, particularly in mounds numbers 13



and 7. They were made of two separate concavo-convex plates cut into the proper form and connected by a central tubular column. The circular plates, forming the lobes of the ear ornaments, were of approximately the same size, averaging one and one-half inches in diameter. At the Harness mound, south of Chillicothe, these objects were found in great numbers, and, in addition to those made of copper, there were several of meteoric iron, and others of copper covered with a thin plating of silver.

The specimens shown in Fig. 79 are from burial number 12, mound number 7, and have one side made of copper and the other of native silver.

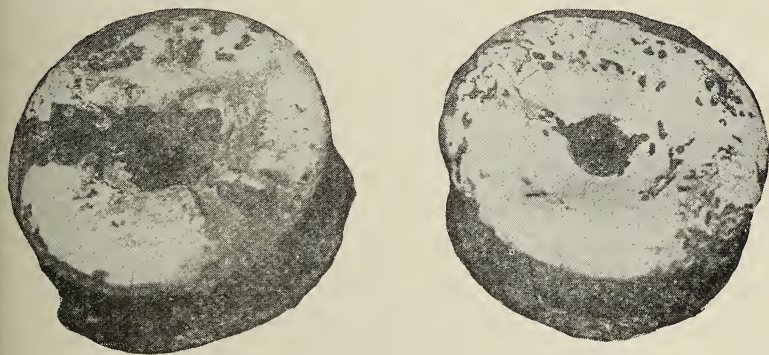


FIG. 79. Silver ear ornaments.

#### BEAD NECKLACES

Necklaces of beads made from shell, fresh-water pearls, animal teeth, fossil sharks' teeth, elk canine teeth, bear claws, and so forth, were found in abundance in the several mounds of the Mound City group. In a single deposit in mound number 13 were found more than 5,000 beads made from the heavy portions of shells. These beads average a little less than one-half an inch in length and one-fourth inch in diameter.

They were barrel-shaped and neatly perforated. They had been placed in a leather container, and before depositing had been "killed" by crushing the pouch with a stone hammer. In burial number 3, mound 8, was found a necklace of elk canine teeth comprising more than 150 specimens, in addition to a half-dozen imitation elk canines cut from shell. Graves of mounds numbers 13 and 2 yielded several small necklaces of similar beads, made from the elk canine teeth.

Pearl necklaces were in abundance throughout the group. A number of individual pearls were quite large, but on the whole they were of small size. Where preservative conditions were favorable the pearls were fairly well preserved, but for the most part they were rather badly deteriorated. Necklaces of the canine teeth of the wolf, bear and mountain lion were much in evidence, particularly in association with cremated remains, in which case they were mostly consumed by fire. Numbers of perforated fossil sharks' teeth were found, usually associated with small shell beads, in connection with which they doubtless had formed necklaces. A similar use of the claws of the bear and the gray wolf was indicated. Fully 10,000 beads of various kinds were taken from the Mound City group by our survey, showing that the use of beads as necklaces, bangles and for attachment to clothing and ceremonial garments was very pronounced.

#### BEADS OF METAL

Beads made of copper or silver, or non-metallic beads covered with copper or silver, were not infrequently found in the graves. The copper beads approximated an inch in length and one-fourth inch in

diameter, and were fashioned by pounding the copper into thin sheets, which were then cut into proper shape and rolled or hammered into tubes around some rod-like implement. It is not improbable that the long needles or awls of copper, found in the mounds of the culture, would answer this purpose admirably.

A number of round beads, primarily of wood with perforations for stringing or attachment, were covered by thin sheets of native silver.

One of the most interesting of the necklaces from the group was that found with burial 12, mound number 7. It consisted of about 40 beads, made of wood and covered with copper. These beads were flat on one side, shaped similar to a coffee bean, the metal on this flat side being perforated for attachment. These bead-like objects varied in size from half an inch to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length. A number of beads of large size, similar to the above, were met with in individual burials.

A single large bead, made from a crystal of galena, was found in the depository of mound number 8. The bead was one of a number of small objects overlooked by Squier and Davis at the time of their examination, and was of especial interest, in view of the fact that although numerous galena crystals were found in the mounds, it proved to be the only artificial object made from that material.

#### OBJECTS MADE OF SHELL

Many artifacts of marine shell were found in the various graves of the several mounds, shell beads, of course, being the most numerous. Of the larger objects of shell, the circular disks, or gorgets, were most in evidence. These ranged in size from  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch to  $3\frac{1}{2}$

inches, with a single large central perforation. Upwards of 50 of these interesting objects were found with burial number 2, mound number 8, but owing to the

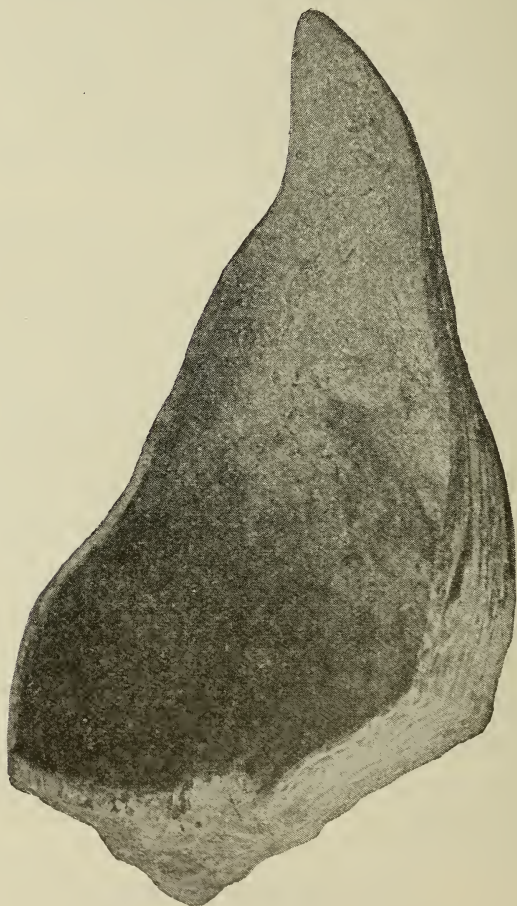


FIG. 80. Large shell container.

fact that the burial occupied a basin sunk beneath the floor of the mound, the consequent accumulations of moisture had resulted in deterioration of the shell specimens, and but few were removed entire. One of the



larger of these was engraved with the conventionalized head of a bird, while several others bore skilfully executed conventional designs. In addition to the shell gorgets, there were found in the various mounds of the group ornaments made of the olive and other shells, by grinding away one side so as to expose the inner whirl, or by simply perforating the shell to permit of attachment as bead or ornament.

The largest objects made from shells were found with burial number 13, mound number 7. These comprised 7 large containers, made from the *Fulgur perversum*. The columella had been removed from the shell, and its margins ground and modified so that the resulting vessel served admirably as a container or drinking vessel. The seven specimens were placed one at each corner of the rectangular grave, one at the center of each end and one side, respectively. An example of these vessels is shown as Fig. 80.

#### WOVEN FABRIC AND MATTING

Matting made from strips of the inner bark of trees was found with burial number 9, mound number 7. A portion of this matting is shown in Fig. 81.

The matting lay beneath a large sheet of mica and a copper breast-plate, the carbonate of copper from the latter preserving those portions of the fabric with which it came in contact.

Owing to the high development of the custom of cremation in the Mound City group (not a single uncremated burial was found) little opportunity presented for the observance of perishable materials. As a result, but little in the way of woven fabric was recovered, the fabric, along with other combustible materials, hav-

ing been consumed in the cremation ceremonials. Sufficient was recovered, however, preserved by the salts of copper, to show that the weaving of textiles had reached a high plane of development with the builders of Mound City.

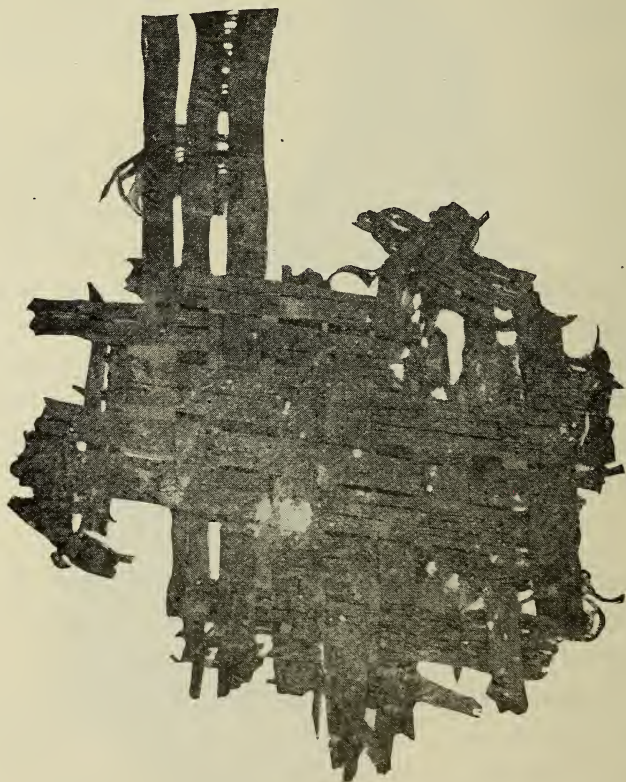


FIG. 81. Matting made of strips of bark.

#### SUMMARY

The final exploration of the Mound City group of earthworks, by our survey, shows that certain of Squier and Davis' conclusions as to the purpose and use of the mounds, or rather of the pre-structures now represented

by mounds, are, in part or wholly, incorrect. Lack of sufficient evidence, and perhaps faulty interpretation of the evidence available to them, appear to have been the causes for rather far-fetched surmises and statements unsupported by facts.

In the Introductory Note to this report, the principal ones of these questionable conclusions were mentioned. These were, in substance: That the builders of the Mound City group practiced human sacrifice; and that, from this custom, they should be in some way related to the great culture groups of Mexico and Central America; that certain basin-like receptacles constructed upon the floors of the mounds were altars, upon which human sacrifices were made; that the so-called stratified mounds were not places of sepulture. To these may be added their statement that the sacrificial fires were so intense as to melt copper, to say nothing of other substances with much lower melting and fusing points.

As to the first of these inferences, it may be stated that the idea of human sacrifice was in no way borne out by our investigations. The sites of the Mound City group were found to be similar in every way to that of the Tremper mound, on the lower Scioto, where the sacred structure, with its crematories and depositories, was used solely for the cremation and burial of the dead, and for the attendant funereal ceremonies. The present conclusion regarding the surmise as to human sacrifice automatically answers that as to relationship with the southern culture groups.

As to the question of "altars", upon which human sacrifice was made, it has been demonstrated once again that these basin-shaped receptacles were merely cre-

matories, used in preparing the dead for burial in what to their builders was the customary manner. All the mound sites of the Mound City group examined by our survey contained from one to three crematories; in one small mound, in which Squier and Davis declared there was no crematory, three were found. It is worthy of note that in those mounds possessing two or more crematories, the proportion of burials was less, showing that the principal function of such had been that of cremation, as supplementing others of the group. Although Squier and Davis declared that the so-called altars in mounds numbers 8 and 3 served as depositories for artifacts, not a single one of the twenty uncovered by our survey were used as such. All were found to be devoid of contents beyond scattering charred human bones and fragments of artifacts carelessly left within them. It is significant, also, that often the cremated burials, in their prepared graves, contained pieces from the burned and fractured sides and bottoms of the crematories nearby.

With respect to the contention that the stratified mounds contained no burials, it is sufficient to say that in every mound examined, our survey found burials. This was true particularly of the great central mound, number 7, a highly stratified structure, in which in addition to the sand strata, the mound, at a given height, had been completely sealed over by a layer of puddled clay.

The supposed great intensity of sacrificial fires in the so-called altars, and the resulting fusion of metallic artifacts associated therewith, has been fully discussed in the description of mound number 8, where it was shown that no fires whatever had been kindled over the



deposit, where found, and that a substance supposed to be fused copper was not in reality copper, but a mineral of much lower melting point.

#### INTRUSIVE BURIALS OF THE MOUND CITY GROUP

The finding of intrusive uncremated burials in the Mound City group by Squier and Davis, in 1846, as recorder by them in their report in *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley*, has remained a matter of interest to students of prehistoric culture varieties in the Ohio archæological area. The character of these burials, and more particularly of the artifacts interred with them, was such as to preclude their classification with any of the several known culture groups; and not until within recent years have other similar remains been made available for study and comparison.

Although Squier and Davis gave no very full description of the objects secured by them from the Mound City group, and were even more meager in the matter of illustrations, it was plainly evident to interested students that the types of artifacts in question, with one or two exceptions, were so distinctive and so radically different from the known forms as to place them in a category to themselves.

During the years subsequent to Squier and Davis' explorations, scattered specimens of the new types, principally from the Scioto and Miami valleys, made their appearance in private collections, where they were regarded as particularly desirable acquisitions. It was not until 1916, however, when the contents of the Heinisch mound, of Portsmouth, Ohio, and, at about the same time, specimens from the so-called Hilltop mound, of the same city, became available for examina-

tion, that a hitherto undefined human culture group for the Ohio archæological area seemed about to be confirmed.

When the present survey began the final exploration of the Mound City group, it was earnestly hoped that additional intrusive burials might be found, in order that the suspected new culture group might be verified and its outstanding characteristics defined. However, with one-half the original number of mounds in the group totally obliterated through cultivation and grading incident to the construction of the army cantonment, and the greater number of those remaining either partly removed or appreciably graded down from the last named cause, it was felt that the probability of finding additional intrusive burials was not encouraging. The fact that the survey succeeded in finding 13 such burials, most of which were rich in artifacts, more than met our most sanguine expectations.

While Squier and Davis' examination disclosed several intrusive burials — namely, in mounds 1, 2, 3 and 18 — their principal find, in so far as artifacts are concerned, was in mound number 2. Regarding this burial, they say:

"In this mound, three feet below the surface, were found two very well preserved skeletons, the presence of which was indicated, at the commencement of the excavation, by the interruption of the layers. They were placed side by side, the head of one resting upon the elbow of the other. There were deposited with the skeletons many implements of stone, horn and bone; among which was a beautiful chip of hornstone, about the size of the palm of one's hand, which had manifestly been used for cutting purposes. There were several hand-axes and gouges of stone, and some articles made from the horns of the deer or elk, which resemble the handles of large knives. \* \* \* Among the implements of bone was one formed from the shoulder-blade of the buffalo, in shape resembling a Turkish scimeter; also a

singular notched implement of bone, evidently intended for insertion in a handle. \* \* \* Another instrument was also found, made by cutting off a section of the main stem of an elk's horn, leaving one of the principal prongs attached; used perhaps as a hammer or war-club. Besides these there were some gouges made of elk's horn, and a variety of similar relics."

A fuller understanding of the above-mentioned specimens will be had in the following description of artifacts secured by the present survey, which with the exception of the implement made from the shoulder-blade of the buffalo, duplicated practically every object enumerated, and in addition, obtained numerous types not found by the early explorers.

#### THE HEINISCH MOUND

Before proceeding to describe the burials and accompanying artifacts taken by the final survey from the Mound City group, it seems proper to refer briefly to previous sources of material pertaining to the new culture — namely, the Heinisch mound and the Hilltop mound, above referred to.

The Heinisch mound, located in the city of Portsmouth, at the mouth of the Scioto river, was removed in 1887 in the course of street extension and improvement work. Although there was no attempt at scientific exploration of the structure, Mr. G. H. Heinisch, owner of the land, secured and preserved what specimens were available and, in 1916, presented them to the Society's Museum, where they are now displayed, together with similar specimens from the Hilltop mound and from the Mound City group.

Among the specimens from the Heinisch mound are a number of unusually fine and rare objects, characteristic of the newly developed culture which they repre-

sent. These comprise a number of very large and finely made granite celts; several chipped and polished flint celts, one of which is double-bitted; a large conchoidal flake of "horn-stone", with secondary chipping, serving as a scraper; a strikingly well executed effigy human face or mask, sculptured from sandstone; two platform pipes, one plain and one in the effigy of a bird head; and a double-bitted ceremonial pick or chisel, square in cross-section at the center, made from granite. (Fig. 82.)



FIG. 82. Double pointed chisel of granite from Heinisch Mound, Portsmouth, Ohio.

Of these specimens, the flint celts are peculiar, in Ohio, to the newly defined culture, having been found in the Mound City group in numbers, and being represented in the Hilltop mound by a similar implement chipped and polished from jadeite. The scraper of "horn-stone", corresponds to that mentioned by Squier and Davis, and to a similar specimen from the Hilltop mound. The material is the nodular flint, drab in color, found in Indiana and Illinois and perhaps Kentucky and Tennessee. The human face mask presumably is a characteristic specimen of the culture, although no others have been found in mounds or burials definitely attributable thereto. A similar specimen in the Museum's collections was found on the north fork of Paint Creek, Ross County.

#### PLATFORM PIPES

The platform pipes are very distinctive and differ markedly from those of the Hopewell culture, as will



be shown presently. The effigy specimen from the Heinisch mound is shown as Fig. 83. The ceremonial chisel or pick, which is illustrated in Fig. 82 measures 10 inches in length. A very similar specimen, taken from a mound at the mouth of Salt Creek, Ross County, was formerly in the Galbraith and Leslie collection,

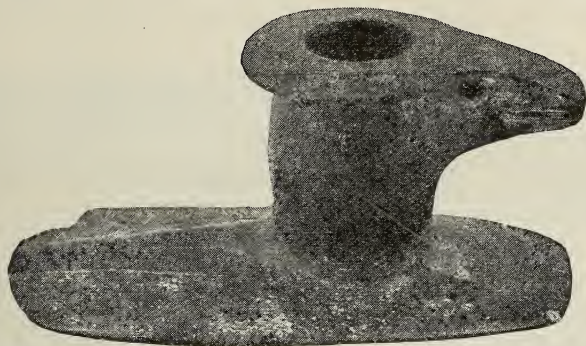


FIG. 83. Effigy platform pipe, Heinisch Mound, Portsmouth, Ohio.

Chillicothe, while a third, practically a duplicate for either of the foregoing specimens, was taken from a mound near Cincinnati and is now in the Society's Museum. The evidence, while not conclusive, seems to be that this type of ceremonial artifact is characteristic of the new culture under consideration.

#### THE HILLTOP MOUND

The contents of the Hilltop mound, of Portsmouth, were secured for the Museum in 1918, by Mr. Paul Esselborn, of that city. The mound was removed a few years previously as a result of natural extension of the city and utilization of the ground upon which it stood. The specimens found in its removal comprise the following: a large flake of nodular flint, 5½ inches in length, chipped into scraper form, and corresponding

with those from the Heinisch and the Mound City mounds; a number of angular-bladed arrow-points, characteristic of the culture; a plain platform pipe, of steatite; a chipped and polished celt of blackish-green jadeite or nephrite; an implement made from a section of deer antler, having a beaver incisor set into and through it, at right angles; several handle-like implements, of antler; two barbed harpoons of antler; a slate gorget or pendant; awls and spatula-like implements of bone. All of these implements, in so far as type is concerned, were found by our survey at Mound City, descriptions of which will answer for the above.

#### INTRUSIVE BURIALS, MOUND CITY

The first intrusive remains found by our survey were those in mound number 8, from which Squier and Davis took their remarkable find of pipes. Two separate burials were found, both of which were less than one foot removed from the edge of the shaft sunk by Squier and Davis. The first of these lay at the south of the old shaft, about 12 inches from its margin. It is shown as Fig. 84. The skeleton lay at full length, but owing to the fact that the grave had not been dug sufficiently large for its accomodation, the head is elevated above the remainder of the bones. The remains are those of a young male, 5 feet 8 inches in height. With the skeleton were placed 12 arrow-points of flint, of the characteristic angular-edged type, and one arrow-point made of an antler tip; a bone needle,  $7\frac{1}{4}$  inches long, made from the shoulder-blade of the elk, and a similar needle,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length; a broken perforated slate gorget or pendant; and a number of antler tips, splints of deer bone, and a tarso-metatarsus of the wild

turkey. The unworked bone pieces, representing raw material for the manufacture of useful implements, was a characteristic of almost every intrusive burial found in the group.

The second skeleton lay directly east of the Squier and Davis shaft, and within 4 inches of its margin. The body had been placed in the grave in a flexed posi-

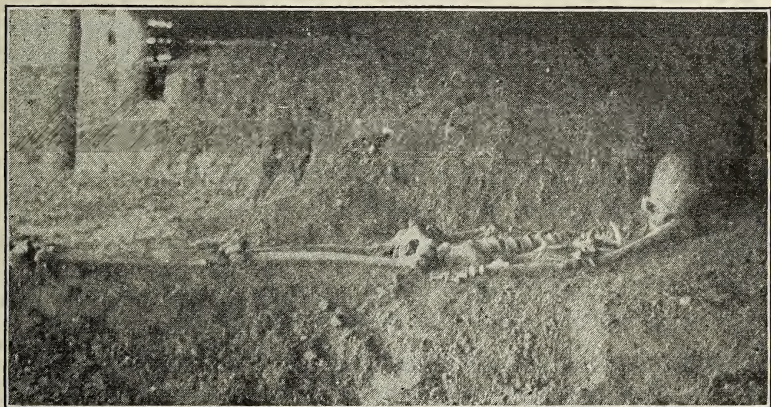


FIG. 84. Intrusive burial No. 1, Mound No. 8.

tion, and was accompanied by numerous interesting objects, among which are the following: a platform pipe, of the plain type; five tool-handles, made from deer antler; a hair-comb, of antler; several large bone awls and spatula-like implements; and several unworked pieces of bone and antler.

In mound number 23, four individuals representing the intrusive burials were found — three in one grave, and one in another. The three burials occupying one grave were placed without order, and comprised the skeletons of an adult male, a woman and a child. The grave was a mere pit, 3 feet in diameter, and not more



than 18 inches deep from the top surface of the mound. The specimens were placed mostly at the south side of the skeletons, and in the earth beneath them, and comprised the following: a mallet, or hammer, consisting of a short section of the body of an elk antler, with a lateral tine serving as its handle; a scraper, made from the metapodial bone of the deer; a cutting implement, or graver, made from a section of antler with a beaver incisor inserted into and through it at right angles; two sections of antler, a foot in length, for making similar implements; several antler tips, unworked; three harpoons of antler, one with three barbs, and two with four barbs; two bone awls; a long slender awl made from the splanchnic bone of the bear; a handle, of antler; a mussel-shell scraper; a gorget or pendant of slate, one perforation; three splanchnic bones of the raccoon; four large shell beads; two celts chipped from flint, one polished; three celts of granite; three unfinished stone celts; a flint arrow-point, and three unfinished flint arrow-points. Fig. 85 shows one of the three skeletons of this burial, together with some of the specimens surrounding it.

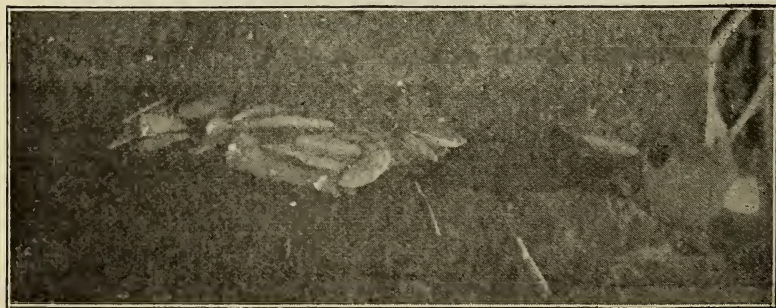


FIG. 85. Intrusive burial Mound No. 23.



From the intrusive burial containing a single skeleton, which lay just north of the crematory of mound number 23, were taken the following objects: four barbed harpoons, of antler, having 5, 4, 3 and 2 barbs, respectively; five handles made of antler; a spatula-like bone awl; a cutting or graving implement of antler, perforated for the insertion of a beaver incisor; one perforated slate gorget or pendant; a scraper, made from the metapodial bone of the deer; three bone chipping tools; three bone awls; a celt of polished black flint; a celt of granite, 7 inches long and finely polished; an unfinished celt; six barbed flint arrow-points; nine un-barbed flint points; two beaver incisors; a number of bones of the deer, pieces of turtle shell, and so forth, placed in the grave as raw material for manufacture of implements.

#### OTHER INTRUSIVE BURIALS

Four intrusive burials were found in mound number 7 — two containing the skeletons of children and two those of adults. The burials of children lay in close proximity, near the summit of the mound, and only 12 or 15 inches below the surface. With one of these nothing was found. With the other were a stone celt, a badly decomposed pottery-vessel, and about 50 shell beads, made from small fresh-water univalves. With a third intrusive burial, that of an adult located well toward the north side of the mound, were found a large section of the body of an elk antler; a stone celt, and a number of shell beads. With the fourth burial, toward the northeast part of the mound, were found a number of shell beads.

With three badly decomposed intrusive burials in mound number 3, no artifacts were found.

## SPECIMENS FROM INTRUSIVE BURIALS

Of the several types of artifacts found with the intrusive burials of the Mound City group, and in the Heinisch and the Hilltop mounds, the following may be considered as strikingly characteristic of, if not indeed peculiar to, the newly defined culture group with which they are associated: the barbed harpoon of antler or bone; the unique implement, for cutting or graving, made from a section of antler with a beaver incisor inserted and extending at right angles on either side; the handle-like implements made from sections of deer antler, apparently having served as handles for flint and bone tools; the chipped and polished flint celts; the toothed hair-combs of antler; the antler hammers or war-clubs, resembling the monolithic implements of Europe; the large conchoidal scrapers of nodular flint; and, probably, the double-bitted ceremonial picks and the human face effigies or masks, of stone. Artifacts common to others of the known culture groups, but bearing distinctive characteristics, as used by the culture in question, are the tobacco pipes and the flint-arrow-points. Artifacts showing no deviation in type or character from those used by one or more of the other culture groups of the area, are: the bone scraper, made from the metapodial bone of the deer, an implement of quite common occurrence in the village sites of the Fort Ancient culture; the stone celt, (as distinguished from the celt of flint, chipped and polished) which appears to have been in common usage by all the known culture groups; the slate gorget, of the one-hole pendant type, of equally wide distribution; shell beads, made variously from small fresh-water univalve shells,

and from the columella of marine shells; and bone awls, fashioned from splanchnic bones of the bear and raccoon, leg bones of the deer and from splints of bone of various animals and birds.

#### BARBED HARPOONS

A total of ten barbed harpoons were secured from the intrusive burials of the Mound City group, eight of which are presented in the accompanying cuts. Those shown in Fig. 86 are from the triple burial, and those

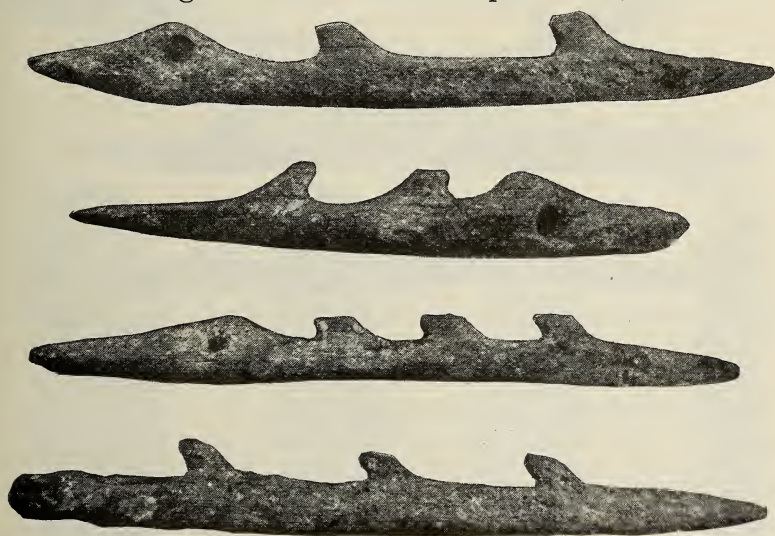


FIG. 86. Harpoons made of horn, intrusive burial No. 1, Mound No. 23.

in Fig. 87 from the single burial, of mound number 23. As will be noted, the number of barbs varies from 2 to 5, while the method of attachment to the shaft was either by means of a perforation, for accommodation of a thong, or by means of an enlargement at the base. The specimens are made from antler. Two similar implements are among the implements from the Hilltop

mound, Portsmouth, Ohio; another, in the Museum's collections, is from a burial at Circleville, and still another was found in the so-called Greenlawn mound, at the southwest line of the city of Columbus.

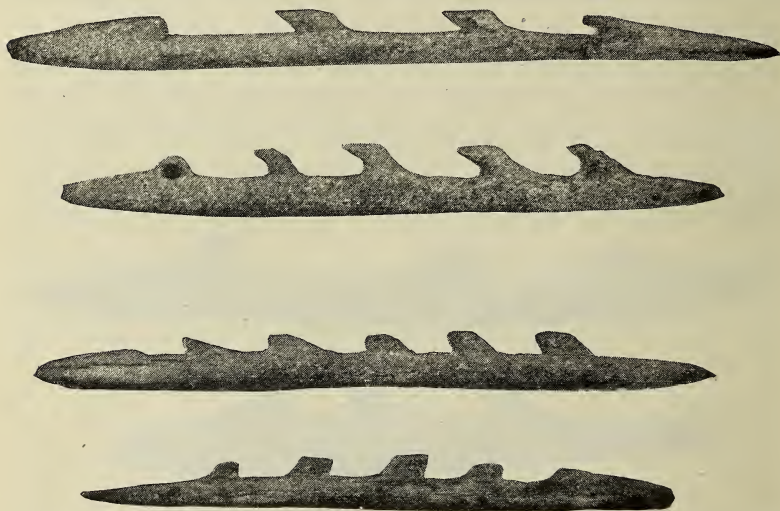


FIG. 87. Harpoons made of horn, intrusive burial No. 2, Mound No. 23.

#### GRAVING IMPLEMENTS

It is difficult to determine the exact use of the unique type of implement illustrated in Fig. 88. Fashioned from a section of antler, with a beaver incisor inserted near the smaller end, they may have been used in the hand, as cutting or graving implements. In addition to the specimens illustrated, which are from mound number 23, a similar implement is among the objects from the Hilltop mound. The specimens figured measure 8 inches and 9 inches respectively.

#### BONE HANDLES

In Fig. 89 there are shown four specimens of this type of implement, representing the range of sizes





FIG. 88. Cutting tools made of deer horns with beaver incisors inserted.



FIG. 89. Handles for knives or awls, made of deer horn, longest specimen 5 inches long.

found in the several intrusive burials. They are made from sections of deer antler, usually that lying toward the base, and range in size from 3 inches to 5 inches. Apparently they served as handles for flint drills, perforators and awls. This type was found by Squier and Davis, and appears to be distinctive of the culture group.

#### TOBACCO PIPES

In the Museum's collections there are 5 pipes representing the culture found intrusively at Mound City. One of these, shown as Fig. 90, is from a burial in



FIG. 90. Platform tobacco pipe found with intrusive burial No. 2, Mound No. 8.

mound number 8; a second pipe, in the image of a bird, (Fig. 83) is from the Heinisch mound; while the remaining three, all of the plain form and very similar to Fig. 90, are from the last-named mound, the Hilltop mound, and a burial near Circleville, respectively.

While all pipes of the culture, in so far as observed, are of the platform type, both plain and effigy, so closely associated with the Hopewell culture, they have several very fixed characteristics which distinguish them at a glance from the Hopewell product. Instead of the usual curved platform, we find a perfectly flat or level base, of comparative thinness. To accommodate the

boring of the stem-hole, and to give added strength, a longitudinal ridge always was left on the top center of the stem. The single specimen of an effigy pipe of the culture (Fig. 83) has the peculiarity of having the effigy facing away from the smoker — the opposite of the pipes from the Hopewell mounds.

#### FLINT AND STONE CELTS

Fig. 91 illustrates three typical celts chipped from black flint from mound number 23. The degree of



FIG. 91. Celts made of flint highly polished

polish ranges from that incident to fashioning the bit or cutting-edge, to those in which the chipping is in great part eliminated over the entire specimen. An occasional partly polished flint celt is found in the villages of the Fort Ancient peoples, but on the whole they



may be regarded as being characteristic of the intrusive burials of Mound City and of the culture represented by them. In Fig. 92 are presented two typical chipped and polished celts of black flint and, in the center, a chipped and polished celt of jadeite, from the Hilltop mound.

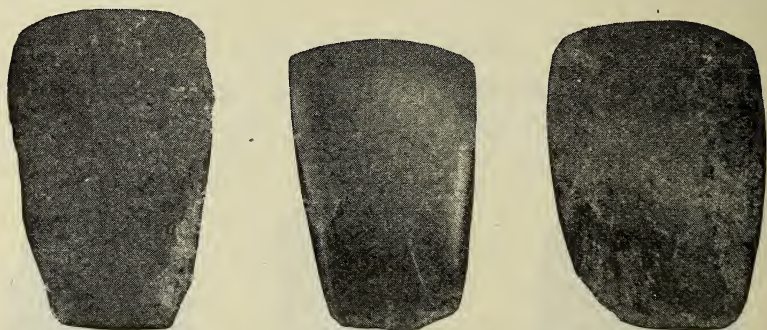


FIG. 92. Celts made of flint and jade.

Typical pecked and ground celts, of granite, are shown in Fig. 93. The specimen to the left, which measures 9 inches in length, is from mound number 23,



FIG. 93. Celts made of granite.



and the specimen to the right is from the Heinisch mound. The stone celts from the intrusive burials appear to be similar in every way to those associated with other cultures of the area.

#### FLINT ARROW-POINTS

Chipped flint arrow-points of the intrusive burials are of both the notched and the unnotched types. A typical lot is shown as Fig. 94. It will be noted that the



FIG. 94. Arrow-points, burials, Mound No. 23.

tendency to angularity of the edges of the blades is very marked, a peculiarity which is quite constant. The material from which the points are chipped appears to be the black and brown flint of the Ohio river district.

#### SCRAPERS OF BONE

Fig. 95 illustrates a perfect scraper made of the metapodial bone of the deer; a partly finished scraper; and the unworked bone from which this type of implement was made. The three specimens are from burials in mound 23.

The metapodial bone scraper hitherto has been re-

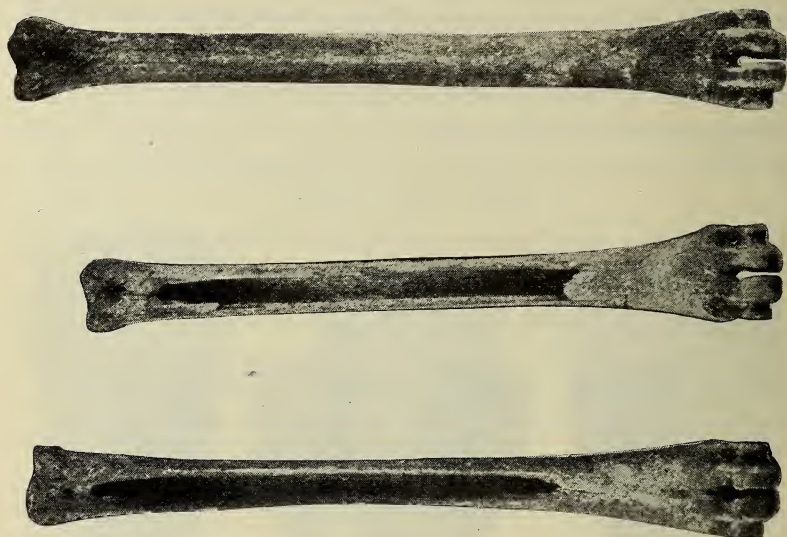


FIG. 95. Perfect scrapers and specimens of bone showing stages of manufacture

garded as typical of the Fort Ancient culture and, in so far as Ohio is concerned, had been thought to be confined to that group. Great numbers of the implement have been taken by our surveys from the Baum village site and the Gartner site, in Ross County, and from the Feurt site, in Scioto County.

#### BONE AWLS AND PERFORATORS

Several types of pointed bone implements are shown in Fig. 96. The specimen to the left, a bone awl  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, made from the shoulder-blade of the elk, is very similar to specimens taken from the Adena mound, near Chillicothe by a former survey. The second specimen from the left is made from the tine of an elk horn. It measures about 6 inches in length, is sharpened to a point and deeply hollowed at the base to re-

ceive a shaft. Apparently it was made for use as a spear-point. The spatula-like implement is made from the leg-bone of the deer, as is the awl to the extreme right.

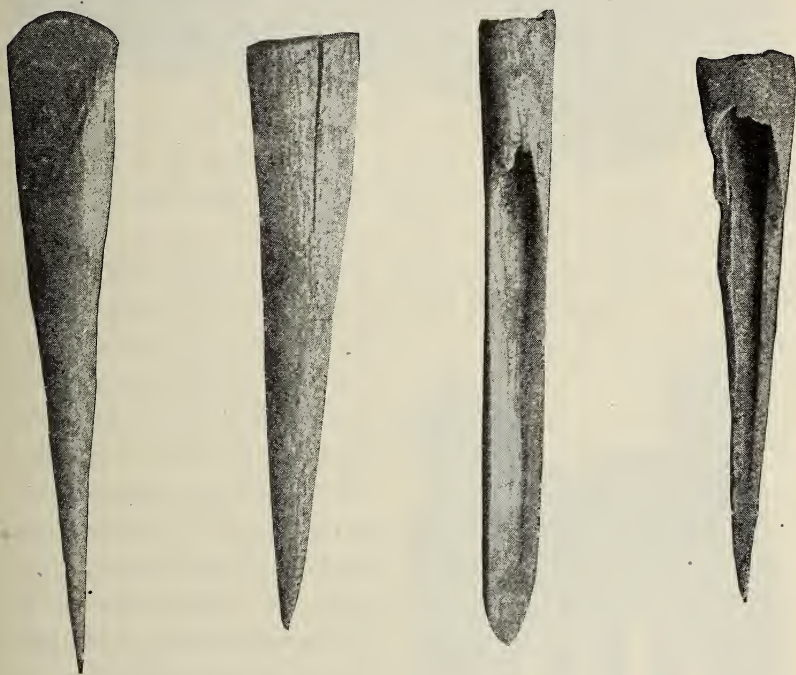


FIG. 96. Awls found with intrusive burial No. 2, Mound No. 8.

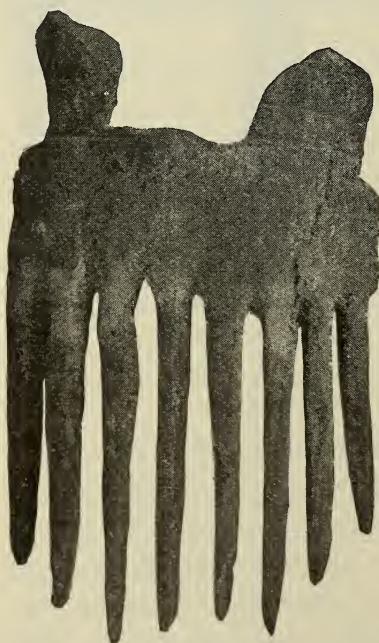
#### OTHER OBJECTS OF ANTLER

In Fig. 97 is shown a war-club, or mallet, made from the base of an elk antler, with the first lateral process serving as a handle. The specimen is 8 inches in length, and appears to be peculiar to this culture. Squier and Davis found a similar implement in mound number 2.



FIG. 97. War club or mallet made of elk antler.

The hair-comb shown in Fig. 98 is made from elk antler. The specimen has eight teeth, and a portion of the decorated top is missing.



This is the only comb of its kind that has been found in the Ohio area, although what appeared to be the teeth of a somewhat similar object have been noted in connection with cremations in the mounds of the Hopewell group.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

From the evidence set forth in the preceding pages, wherein the intrusive burials of the Mound City group, and specimens from the Heinisch and the Hilltop mounds are de-

FIG. 98. Comb made of elk antler.

scribed, it would appear that their authors must be



considered as constituting a culture group distinctive and apart from those heretofore recognized.

While scientific examination of sites attributable to the culture are, for the present, confined solely to the intrusive burials of the Mound City group, the specimens from the Heinisch and Hilltop mounds, as well as the scattering specimens referred to in the preceding pages, are of considerable value, particularly in the matter of affording type artifacts of the group. While it is regrettable that the two or three known mounds of the culture should have been removed without scientific observation, it seems probable that others will be located and examined in a proper manner, and that further intrusive burials may be found in the middle and lower Scioto valley.

From the evidence already adduced, it would appear that we are justified in the following conclusions regarding the new group:

They are confined, in so far as definite data exist, to the middle and lower Scioto valley, particularly at Portsmouth and Chillicothe, with undoubted evidence of their presence at Columbus, four miles south of Columbus, and at Circleville.

They freely utilized mounds of other cultures as burial places, as evidenced at Mound City and, in addition, were themselves mound-builders, if lay testimony with regard to the Portsmouth mounds is to be accepted; namely, that the burials and accompanying artifacts taken therefrom constituted the original and only burials therein.

They made and used a large series of highly specialized artifacts, extremely distinctive, and in several instances unique to themselves. Of the total of 16 dis-

tinct types of artifacts attributable to the group, nine of them, or more than 50 per cent, are not found in the sites of other culture groups in Ohio. These comprise the barbed harpoons, antler gravers, antler handles, antler mallets, antler hair-combs, chipped and polished flint celts, large chonchoidal flint scrapers and (probably) ceremonial picks and human face masks. Of the 7 remaining types, two are in part distinctive: the pipes, which, while of the platform type, differ decidedly from those of the Hopewell culture; and the chipped flint arrow-points, which tend strongly to an angular-bladed form. Of the remaining five types, one alone is exactly similar to a representative implement of the Fort Ancient sites — the scraper, made of the metapodial bone of the deer, found sparingly at Mound City. The remainder — stone celts, slate pendants, shell beads and bone awls — might be identified as characteristic of any of the previously recognized cultures.

From the materials employed in fashioning their implements and, in a degree from the forms of the implements themselves, together with the fact that the strongest evidences of the presence appears to be at the mouth of the Scioto, the new group would seem to have its affinity, if any is to be found, with the area to the southward. The only indications of such affinity with the recognized culture groups in the Ohio area are the platform pipes, suggesting the Hopewell, and the deer-bone scrapers, pointing to the Fort Ancient; either or both of which may be merely borrowed traits.

# OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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## REVIEWS, NOTES AND COMMENTS

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BY THE EDITOR

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### OHIO HISTORY IN THE SCHOOLS

*History and Geography of Ohio*, by William M. Gregory, Head of the Geography Department, Cleveland School of Education, and William B. Guitteau, Director of Schools, Toledo, Ohio. Ginn and Company, Publishers, New York and Columbus, 1922.

It is to be regretted that in the educational system of our State there is no legal mandate to teach Ohio history in its public schools. It is a precious heritage of this and coming generations of Ohioans, and certainly our boys and girls are much more entitled to know it than the history of foreign nations. The thrilling Indian wars, the struggles and victories of our pioneers, the origin and development of our institutions, the acquaintance with our great characters in war, education, literature, science and commerce, should be transmitted from generation to generation. The best and most natural method to do this is through our schools. Upon these historical facts are based the ideals which constitute the real worth of the State. Macaulay in his *History of England*, writing of this idea, says: "It is a sentiment, which belongs to the higher and purer part of human nature, and which adds not a little to the

strength of states. A people which takes no pride in the noble achievements of remote ancestors will never achieve anything worthy to be remembered with pride by remote descendants."

An intelligent knowledge of these achievements should constitute a part of the education of Ohio youth. This has been presented by the authors of this school book in a very attractive and scientific manner. As an educational work it is worthy of the highest praise, and we hope to see it introduced into the proper grades of every school in Ohio. This is the first Ohio school history and geography written for this purpose, and it meets all the demands. When a pupil finishes its study, he will be well posted in the historical and material progress of his state. He will realize for the first time the enormous cost in heroism and sacrifice that was paid to found Ohio; he will learn that the men and women who laid its foundations were sturdy believers in liberty, education and religion; that they came here not as trappers or conquerors or traders, nor to acquire wealth, but to build homes and to cultivate the land. They were courageous, industrious and sturdy, and as a result they built one of the most remarkable commonwealths of modern times. They cleared the forest, founded a state government, conquered the Indians, defeated a foreign invader, built canals, and as a climax, founded a common school system unexcelled in all the world.

The authors have described all this in a remarkably attractive manner—so pleasing and simple as to make its study a pleasure. Nor have they quit their work there. The student is led through the progressive development of the state. They have shown the effect of its physical features, and natural resources, which the



industry of its people has erected into a state, which, though only thirty-fifth in area, has become among its sisters of the Union fourth in population, and in wealth exceeded only by New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois.

This text-book is a credit not only to the authors, but to the publishers as well. By its attractive illustrations, its appropriate maps and its illuminating graphics, they have produced a work that will make its study fascinating. Again, we say, its use in our schools should be general.

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#### SCHOENBRUNN ANNIVERSARY

The one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the building of the first schoolhouse and the first church in the Ohio country by the Moravian missionaries at Schoenbrunn near New Philadelphia, Ohio, was most appropriately celebrated August 20-24, 1922. The celebration was inaugurated by a union meeting of the churches of Dover and New Philadelphia in the Union Opera House of the latter city Sunday, August 20. The address was given by Rev. J. E. Weinland, pastor of the Dover Moravian church, and was a most interesting historic review of the early Moravian settlements in Tuscarawas County. The address was published in full in the local papers and is a valuable contribution to the history of this Ohio country before it was organized as territory or state.

On Wednesday evening, August 23, a meeting was held in the Union Opera House of New Philadelphia under the auspices of the Tuscarawas County Historical Society. More than 1200 people were present. The chairman of the meeting, Professor Fred Barthelmeh,

superintendent of the county schools, introduced Dr. W. O. Thompson, President of Ohio State University, who delivered a scholarly and inspiring address on the work of the Moravian missionaries in the Muskingum Valley. "It would be difficult," he said, "for us in the wildest flights of imagination to understand the plights and experiences of the early settlers among the Indians who inhabited this valley. Those men and women who came here as settlers were men and women who came out of love for and a desire to render a service to others." He paid high tribute to the unselfish motives and work of these pioneers.

There were brief addresses at this meeting by Secretary C. B. Galbreath and Director William C. Mills of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

The series of celebrations reached its climax on the evening of August 25 when "The Story of Schoenbrunn" was presented as a historic pageant in the Union Opera House of New Philadelphia. The house was filled to overflowing and nearly 1000 people were unable to secure admission. The pageant was a success in every particular. David Zeisberger, the leading spirit among the missionaries, was brilliantly represented by Ben W. Cuning, and Rev. John Heckewelder, the associate of Zeisberger, by Rev. Theodore Reinke. Nearly fifty other characters were represented by persons especially selected for their parts. The plot included eight episodes from 1772 to 1778, "and brought scenes in early Ohio days to a graphic realization. Students of history, local critics of amateur theatricals and admirers of dramatic ideals were enthusiastic in their declaration that the spectacle was a worthy and appropriate tribute to the first settlers of Tuscarawas

County and the founders of the first church and school in Ohio."

This pageant was so highly appreciated that those who presented it were prevailed upon to repeat it on the following evening when a capacity audience again enjoyed and heartily applauded it.

Nothing so thoroughly arouses and impresses the events of local history upon the general public as the presentation of that history in the form of pageants. This fact has been abundantly demonstrated by a number of such pageants that have been presented in different parts of Ohio within the past year.

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#### PROFESSOR CLEMENT LUTHER MARTZOLFF

Professor Clement Luther Martzolff, a life member of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society and for a number of years on the Board of Trustees, died at his home in Athens, Ohio, August 5, 1922. He was born in Monday Creek Township, Perry County, November 25, 1869. He had been in failing health for the past five years but continued his work in Ohio University at Athens until last March when his illness took a serious turn. In June he was confined to his home where he remained until his death.

Professor Martzolff was throughout his entire life a student and a thorough teacher. After leaving the schools of his county he attended Capital University at Columbus, Ohio, one year in 1892 and the summer school sessions at Ohio University in 1896, 1903, 1905 and 1906. He entered the regular term of that institution in 1904 and was graduated in 1907 with the degree of Bachelor of Pedagogy. He received the Mas-

ter's degree in 1910 and that of Doctor of Literature from Wittenberg College in 1920. He was a student at Harvard in 1904. Professor Martzolff was an enthusiastic and efficient teacher and for years an institute instructor. He taught in his native county from 1889-1896 and was superintendent of schools at Buchtel from 1896-1899. In 1899 he was principal of the Glenford High School; from 1900-1902 superintendent of schools at Junction City, and from 1902-1906 he held the same position in New Lexington. After his graduation he was professor of history in Ohio University and was head of the history department of the Arts College in that institution at the time of his death.

He was a writer of history. A number of his contributions have appeared in the QUARTERLY. He wrote a *History of Perry County*, *History of Athens County*, *Autobiography of Thomas Ewing*, *Fifty Stories from Ohio History*, *The Story of Ohio* and *The First Service Star*. He was active in the work of acquiring Big Bottom Park for the Society.

He was county examiner in Perry County from 1894-1904. From 1901-1902 he was chairman of the Democratic County Executive Committee of Perry County and was a delegate to the state conventions of 1895, 1897 and 1910. He was active in the temperance cause and was a Wilson presidential elector in 1912. The papers of his native county, of Athens and southern Ohio bear uniform testimony to the high character of Professor Martzolff's life service as citizen, student and teacher.



## THE DUNMORE TREATY

In the hope that some trace might be discovered of the Dunmore Treaty, to which references were made in the meeting of the McGuffey Society at the Logan Elm, an account of which is published in this issue, Governor James E. Campbell, President of the Society, on August 3, addressed a letter to the American Ambassador at London, England, to which he has received the following answer:

"DEAR SIR: —

"I have been instructed by the Ambassador, who is at present in Scotland, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of August 3rd, in which you request that an effort be made to obtain a copy of the Treaty of October 1774, negotiated by Governor Dunmore, with the Indian tribes of Western Pennsylvania and Virginia and a portion of Ohio.

"Inquiry was made of the Treaty Department of the British Foreign Office and a response has just been received from that office, a portion of which I beg to quote:

'In reply to your letter of the 25th ultimo relative to the desire of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society to obtain a copy of Governor Dunmore's treaty of October 1774 with Indian tribes of Western Pennsylvania and Virginia and a portion of Ohio, I regret to inform you that no copy of the treaty can be traced in this department or in the Colonial Office.

'Enquiries have also been made in the Public Record Office and British Museum but no trace of the document can be found. I do not know in what other direction an enquiry in this country could be directed with any possibility of a successful result.'

"I am, dear Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"WALTER C. THURSTON,

"Second Secretary of Embassy."

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On the afternoon of October 2 an interesting meeting was held under the wide-spreading branches of the Logan Elm. Professor M. C. Warren, County Superintendent of Schools, presided. The principal address was delivered by Dr. Howard Jones, of Circleville. This address in full, with a more extended notice of the

meeting will appear in the January issue of the QUARTERLY.

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The centenary of the birth of Rutherford B. Hayes, the program of which was announced in our last issue, was successfully celebrated on October 4. A description of the pageant and an account of the dedicatory and commemorative exercises will be published in the January QUARTERLY.



# MINUTES OF THE THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OHIO ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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SOCIETY BUILDING,  
COLUMBUS, OHIO,  
September 9, 1922,

## MORNING SESSION

The meeting was called to order by Treasurer Wood, who moved that President James E. Campbell act as Chairman of the meeting. The motion was duly seconded and carried.

The following members were present:

Hon. James E. Campbell,	Clinton Cockerell,
Prof. B. F. Prince,	Mrs. Clinton Cockerell,
General J. Warren Keifer,	Frank H. Howe,
George F. Bareis,	D. H. Gard,
Edward Orton, Jr.,	E. F. Wood,
Henry J. Booth,	C. B. Galbreath,
Frank L. Packard,	Dr. W. O. Thompson,
Colonel W. L. Curry,	Colonel Webb C. Hayes,
H. C. Shetrone,	Frank Tallmadge,
Van A. Snider,	Fred J. Heer,
Mrs. Charles A. Covert,	Dr. J. M. Henderson,
Martha J. Maltby,	W. D. Wall,
H. R. McPherson,	Henri Buck,
Mrs. H. R. McPherson,	Austin J. Wilson,
Dr. T. C. Mendenhall,	Dr. William C. Mills,
Mrs. Dr. Howard Jones,	R. C. Baker,

Warren Cowen,  
G. T. Watters, Jr.  
Dr. J. M. Dunham,

Daniel M. Hickson,  
C. W. Justice.

Mr. C. B. Galbreath read the

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY,

as follows:

"A survey of the records of the past year and a comparison with minutes of previous years leads inevitably to the conclusion that, while creditable progress has been made, little has been attained or attempted in new fields of endeavor.

"At the last annual meeting a partial reorganization of the administrative functions of the Society was advocated and steps were soon afterward taken to make the proposed changes effective. Under a section of the Constitution the Trustees at a special meeting on October 18, 1921, created the office of Director and prescribed his powers and duties. This position was created with the distinct understanding that it was to be filled by Dr. William C. Mills, whose long, devoted and highly efficient service has given this institution and the State of Ohio honorable and enviable position in the field of archæology. It likewise contemplated the promotion of Mr. Harry C. Shetrone to the position of Curator, a position for which his previous training and experience eminently fitted him. In fact, these changes invested these servants of the Society with few duties that they had not already been accustomed to perform. It gave them appropriate titles and a more specific sphere of duty.

"In this connection it should be remembered that these changes suggest, if they do not absolutely require, some changes in the Constitution. Your Secretary, availing himself of the opportunity afforded him, as well as all members of the Society at any annual meeting, will submit in writing before the close of this session amendments to the Constitution providing for the changes to which reference has been made and certain others to harmonize a few inconsistent provisions and carry out the evident intention of the Society as expressed in previous annual meetings.

"Incidentally, the duties assigned to the Director very properly limit the report of the Secretary. The director is the business manager of the Society; he has oversight of all its physical properties except the library, papers and documents; to his report belongs the general survey of the various historic sites, buildings and memorials, and a more specific statement when these are not



fully covered by reports of the various committees. It is still the duty of the Secretary, however, to record the proceedings of the meetings of the Society and the Board of Trustees, and to collect and include in his report all important activities of the various committees. These are recorded at length in the type-written record and published in briefer form in the *QUARTERLY*.

"In the extended record of the Secretary should be included important legal documents covering the obligations of the Society and title to its various properties. At a recent meeting of the Finance Committee the Secretary was requested to make a collection of the different deeds to the Spiegel Grove property and the various trust fund agreements for its support and improvement. Most of these had been carefully copied into the record. The Secretary has been convinced that this should be done with all such documents.

"It has been customary for the Secretary to report trips that he has made in the interest of the Society.

"Soon after the last annual meeting in company with our Trustee, Mr. Arthur C. Johnson, the Secretary went to Chillicothe to inquire in regard to some early newspaper files. There is reason to believe that this visit to that city will lead to additions to the library within the coming year. On the return trip a brief stop was made at the monument erected to Catherine Gougar, who was an Indian captive in the Ohio Country in 1744. A full account of the remarkable career of this pioneer woman is found in the July *QUARTERLY*.

"On April 27-29, it was the pleasure of the Secretary to attend the remarkable series of celebrations incident to the Centennial Anniversary of the birth of General Ulysses S. Grant. President Harding spoke at Point Pleasant, the birthplace of Grant, on April 27. United States Senator Frank B. Willis delivered the address on the day following at Bethel, once the home of Grant and United States Senator Thomas Morris. On April 29 United States Senator Atlee Pomerene delivered an address at Georgetown, Ohio, the home of Grant through his boyhood years, from which he was appointed cadet to West Point. These addresses and much additional matter relative to the early life of Grant and the careers of Senator Morris and Thomas L. Hamer are published in the July *QUARTERLY*.

"On February 21, responding to the invitation of Mr. J. W. Jacoby for the Marion Centennial Committee, the Secretary made a visit to that city to hear reports on plans for the Marion Centennial. A large and enthusiastic meeting of this committee, which represented the business and other civic interests of Marion, met on the evening of that date. A number of interesting addresses were made and the Secretary responded to a re-

quest for some remarks on the educational value of such celebrations.

"The American Library Association held its annual meeting in Detroit, June 25 to July 1. The Secretary spent three days in attendance as the representative of the Society.

"The Marion Centennial Celebration reached its climax on July 4 when an immense concourse of people was addressed in that city by President Harding, General Pershing, General Dawes and others. The Secretary was present to get some material at first hand for a report of this celebration. At his request Mr. Jacoby prepared an account which will appear in the October QUARTERLY.

"On July 27 he made a trip to Canton to arrange if possible for transfer of certain newspaper files now in the county courthouse to the library of the Society when the necessary legislation is enacted.

"On the evening of August 23 addresses were delivered in New Philadelphia by Dr. W. O. Thompson, trustee of the Society, Director William C. Mills and the Secretary. The occasion was the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the Moravian missions and the building of the first church and the first schoolhouse in the Ohio Country at Schoenbrunn and Gnadenhutten. The principal address was delivered by Dr. Thompson. On the day following Director Mills and the Secretary visited the site of Fort Laurens, where plans were perfected for improvements authorized at the last session of the General Assembly.

"A detailed reference to the meetings of the various committees will not be made here. The reports, by their chairmen, for a number of them will amply cover the ground of their work.

"Mention has already been made of the meeting of the Board of Trustees on October 18. On December 30 the Board held another meeting at which the announcement of the various committees was made and other matters were considered.

"On May 8, the Board met to confer such additional authority, as might be necessary, upon the building committees for the addition to the Hayes Memorial Library and Museum Building in Spiegel Grove State Park and the World War addition to the Museum and Library Building on the Ohio State University grounds at Columbus.

"On June 3, the Board met to empower the treasurer of the Society, acting for the Society, to order payments from the trust fund for the addition to the Spiegel Grove Memorial Building. The celebration at Spiegel Grove on October 4 was also discussed.

"The Finance Committee held meetings as follows :

"July 11, to consider re-insurance of Spiegel Grove property, the apportionment of the appropriation for expenses for the coming year and provision for salaries of employes ;

"August 29, to receive the report of the treasurer for the last fiscal year and to take steps to determine the relations existing between the Society and the Spiegel Grove State property and trust funds with a view to determine the obligations of the Society.

"The publications of this Society are a most valuable contribution in return for the financial support of the State. From the beginning down to date they have kept very close to Ohio history. They contain much of that history not otherwise accessible. They have already been widely distributed. The recommendations of your Secretary read two years ago and published in the *QUARTERLY* are repeated. In this connection I should add that the re-issue of the publications of the Society is almost complete and the sets will soon be ready for distribution.

"The Secretary under present arrangements is the librarian of the Society and as such is expected to report briefly at this meeting. While much in the line of library organization remains to be done, very satisfactory progress has been made within the past year, especially when the limited number of persons employed is considered.

"The Meeker Library of Ohioana, which was presented to the Society at the annual meeting two years ago, has been carefully classified and rearranged. This brief statement conveys to the average person a very inadequate idea of the work involved. I know how difficult it is to convey to the general public and even to persons that have a closer contact with library work any adequate conception of what it means to classify and catalogue a library. The general impression seems to be that twenty-five hundred or three thousand books ought to be thoroughly classified and cataloged by a person familiar with the decimal system in two or three weeks at the farthest, with the aid of a stenographer. Some persons have even indicated their impression that all a qualified librarian has to do to accomplish this is to make a few explanations to a stenographer and let her complete the work. Classification deserving the name, however, cannot thus be done. It is most arduous and painstaking work and frequently requires hours of time and research to properly place and cross reference a single volume. If the assistant librarian had done nothing more the past year than put the Meeker library in its present shape and take care of requests of patrons she would have performed a good year's work. But she has done more.

For about five years the publications of the various historical societies and the magazines that come to the library by gift and purchase had not been bound. These have been collected, missing title pages and indexes have been procured through correspondence and all of them, numbering over two hundred volumes, have been bound, assigned to their class and placed on the shelves. This greatly facilitates frequent reference to these volumes.

"Books previously acquired by gift and a comparatively small number purchased within the past year have also been catalogued and placed on the shelves. Many cross reference cards to material in the library have been filed. The Library of Congress now prints cards for all contributions to our *QUARTERLY*. They are purchased regularly as issued and filed in our catalog.

"The General Assembly at its last regular session appropriated an aggregate of \$500 to the Society for the purchase of books and papers. This is \$250 a year — a sum almost too insignificant even to mention. This makes our library dependent almost wholly upon contributions of books and papers and leaves it utterly powerless to compete with other institutions that have abundant money to purchase in the open market the additions that we lack. The imperative need of the library and the Society is a reasonable appropriation for the purchase of books and papers. Only \$2500 was asked for this from the last General Assembly and a smaller sum should not even be considered.

"This condition leads me to draw attention briefly to what I conceive to be the supreme opportunity and duty of this association. What is that? you properly ask. The location of this building here on the university grounds and the declared objects of the Society answer the question. With proper support this Society has the opportunity of building up here, within easy access of every student of the Ohio State University, a great reference library on Ohio local history, Ohio state history and the history of the Northwest Territory. Here should be found newspaper files and manuscript collections, all accessible for ready and convenient reference.

"It is now of course too late to collect much of this material that should have been here, or at least in our capital city, carefully and systematically gathered through the eventful years since the establishment of government in the Ohio Country. Since much of the fundamentals of our history is now not available by either gift or purchase, we must as far as possible have access to collections in other institutions. How may this be done? To a very limited extent by loans. It is hardly reasonable, however, to expect other institutions to loan to this library their manuscript



material and newspaper files when they are requested. Fortunately, in recent years a system has been devised by which copies of material elsewhere available can be made for use here. This photostat process has greatly extended the use of rare manuscripts and papers by making possible, at comparatively light expense, copies that to the research student answer all of the purposes of the originals. It is therefore recommended that, at the earliest date, when provision can be made here for the use of the photostat, the necessary apparatus be purchased to reproduce for our collection the material that students have a right to expect in the library of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. The purchase of this equipment is hereby recommended and the Secretary, on every proper occasion, will repeat this recommendation until the equipment is provided.

"In the meantime every reasonable effort should be made to collect, where still available, newspaper files, manuscripts and rare books and papers within the scope outlined for our library. We hope to present to the coming Legislature, as separate propositions, some plans which are expected to materially promote these desired additions to the library.

"Within the past year suggestions have been made for co-operation between this institution and the State Library. It is believed that much of the material in the latter relating to the special field of work chosen for our Society might serve a better purpose if transferred here and brought within easy access of the University students and all interested in local historic research. It is not for us, of course, to determine what the policy of the State Library shall be in regard to this matter. The reorganization code provides a way for such transfer without additional legislation and I feel that I may safely announce that the State Librarian is favorably disposed to some co-operation along the lines indicated.

"Regardless of what other institutions shall do in co-operation or otherwise, we must keep up the files of publications of all historical societies in the United States. Valuable files of these covering past years are already in the library. In fact this feature of our work has been fairly well accomplished to date. If it is determined finally that it is not necessary to duplicate the work we are doing in this line at the State Library, that much will be saved to it for other purposes. If, on the other hand, it is determined that it shall also especially interest itself in local history and continue to purchase the publications of the various historical societies of other states, we need not object if this duplication is continued. We must hew to the line marked out for the Society without wavering or weariness.

"Of course the carrying out of such a program for the library and a larger one for the other departments of this Society, contemplates the completion, at the earliest possible date, of the additions to this building which were outlined when it was erected. The General Assembly through its finance committee announced early in its regular session that practically no money would be appropriated by the state for building purposes. This Society, of course, could not consistently urge that an exception be made to take care of its needs. However, before the conclusion of that session the General Assembly adopted the biggest building program for the educational and benevolent institutions in the history of Ohio. For the educational institutions, I should say, except the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

"Much was done for the others, nothing for us. This statement is not made by way of complaint, but as a stimulus to added effort before the coming General Assembly. We were told before to wait, that our turn would be next. It is our turn now and it behooves every officer and every member of this Society to help the Legislature to see our need.

"In a previous report your Secretary drew attention to what had been done in other states. Buildings for the housing of their historical societies were reported to have been erected by state appropriations as follows:

Illinois .....	\$1,500,000
Wisconsin .....	1,000,000
Minnesota. ....	500,000

"To this statement should now be added the fact that Indiana is planning the erection of a building which, with its site, is to cost from \$2,000,000 to \$2,500,000. The State of Kansas, much younger and with a population much smaller than ours, has its historical society housed in a building that cost \$600,000. Ohio with her incomparable history, which is the boast of her sons within and without the state, has spent thus far for such purposes only \$100,000.

"Our turn is next and upon a practical recognition of that fact depends in large measure the successful progress of our work — the accomplishment of our mission."

On motion of Col. Curry, seconded by Dr. Mills, the report was ordered received and printed.

Mr. Wood read the

REPORT OF THE TREASURER,

as follows:

“ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER OF THE OHIO STATE  
ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY FOR  
THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1922.

RECEIPTS

Cash on hand July 1, 1921—including special funds..	\$3,704.16
Life Membership Dues.....	200.00
Active Membership Dues.....	76.00
Express refunded .....	1.20
Books sold .....	278.91
Subscriptions .....	16.50
One volume “Life of Rutherford B. Hayes” sold....	4.64
Interest on Permanent Fund.....	994.00
Interest .....	149.50
Interest on World War Memorial Fund.....	2,461.20
Interest on Campus Martius Fund.....	100.00
From State Treasurer on Sundry Appropriations....	29,896.65
Total receipts .....	<u>\$37,882.76</u>

DISBURSEMENTS

*Personal Service:—*

Salaries .....	\$19,934.44
Wages at Spiegel Grove State Park.....	500.00

*Supplies:—*

Office .....	338.02
General Plant .....	146.91

*Repairs and Upkeep:—*

Main Building at Columbus.....	317.62
Fort Ancient Park.....	299.44
Campus Martius .....	60.00
Serpent Mound Park.....	126.89
Logan Elm Park.....	78.00
Big Bottom Park.....	14.00
Water rent .....	75.75
Light, Heat and Power.....	2,058.93
Express, Freight and Drayage.....	37.89

Expenses of Trustees and Committees.....	232.60
Telephone Service .....	123.15

*Contingencies:—*

Auditing .....	35.00
Premium on Bond.....	15.00
Sundry Expenses .....	4.50
Publications .....	4.09
Publishing "Life of Rutherford B. Hayes," on account .....	1.53
Field Work .....	219.72
Library Equipment .....	2,015.99
Museum Equipment .....	856.74
Office Equipment .....	500.00
	39.80

*Transfers to:—*

World War Memorial Building Fund.....	2,461.20
Permanent Fund .....	994.00

Total disbursements .....	\$35,577.12
Balance on hand June 30, 1922.....	2,305.64
Total .....	\$37,882.76

The Permanent Fund has been increased during the year as follows:

Interest on Fund.....	\$994.00
Life Membership Dues....	200.00
Total .....	\$1,194.00

The fund now amounts to the sum of \$21,074.00, which is invested and earning interest at 5% per annum.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed)

E. F. Wood,  
*Treasurer."*

Mr. Wood then read at length the Report of the Auditors, including the report of W. D. Wall, certified public accountant, which concluded as follows:

"The vouchers covering disbursements were examined and found to be correct. Checks drawn against the current fund were



examined and the cash balance was reconciled with the bank balance. \* \* \* Appropriation balances, as shown by the treasurer's books, were compared with those as shown by the Auditor of State and found to agree.

"The books of account were found to be in their usual neat and accurate condition."

It was moved and seconded that the reports of the Treasurer and Auditors be accepted and duly printed.

Colonel Hayes stated that the report of the Treasurer was not satisfactory to him, in that it did not give sufficient details, especially concerning the permanent fund; also the Treasurer's report should be given in full detail, so that it would not be necessary to publish the report of the auditors, except to state that they found the Treasurer's report correct. After considerable discussion President Campbell suggested that the objections of Colonel Hayes be put in writing. This Colonel Hayes agreed to do. Action on the Reports of the Treasurer and Auditors was passed for the time being, but for the sake of convenience the written statement of Colonel Webb C. Hayes is here given, together with action on the two reports above referred to.

The written statement of Colonel Hayes is as follows:

"Colonel Hayes stated that the Treasurer's report should be amplified to show the cash on hand in the different funds, the source of income of the so-called Permanent Fund, the proposed future use of the Permanent Fund and reason why it is not included in the cash on hand and available for the use of the Society; also that a division be made showing how much has been used by the different committees of the Society, and that space in the QUARTERLY be saved by omitting the eleven pages of the full Auditor's Report, which should be kept on file and available to all members."

The motion to accept and publish the reports was duly carried.

President Campbell appointed a committee to make nominations of candidates for Trustees, consisting of Van A. Snider, H. R. McPherson and Fred J. Heer.

Secretary Galbreath: "In order to make the minutes complete as to our Trustees I desire to state that the Governor has appointed two Trustees since our last annual meeting. Our chairman, Governor James E. Campbell, was reappointed, and in place of Dr. Palmer the Governor selected General J. Warren Keifer.

Dr. William C. Mills read the Report of the Director, as follows:

#### REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR

"It gives me pleasure to make my first report of the Museum of the Society as Director. The year that has passed has been a very eventful one in many respects as plans for future development have been formulating and practically all the spare time of the Director has been spent in studying plans of other large museums of the country and trying hard to avoid as many mistakes in our building as possible. Many of the Directors of larger museums have evinced the desire of friendly co-operation and help in building up a museum for Ohio that will be commensurate with those of other states. This friendly museum co-operation rather than museum rivalry has no doubt been brought about by the American Association of Museums whose keynote is friendly and reciprocal relations; spreading the spirit of good will, and of sacrifice, if necessary, to help museums to better their conditions and develop their opportunities. At our annual meeting a year ago the Board of Trustees was authorized to meet the demands of expansion and growth which was apparent by electing a Director.

"The Director was authorized to nominate a curator of archæology and Mr. H. C. Shetrone, Assistant Curator, was nominated by the Director and elected by the Board of Trustees. Mr. Shetrone has had about eight years' experience in the field of exploration under my direction and I feel he is perfectly competent to undertake the examination of the many splendid sites in every section of Ohio.

"Our work in exploring the mounds and village sites and publishing the results has attracted the attention of the archæologists in practically every state in the Mississippi Valley and many of the states at this time are taking steps to explore their mounds and village sites and assemble the data necessary to a proper study of human history. The National Research Council has been behind a project to have the antiquities of a number of states properly classified and mapped after the manner of the Archæological Atlas of Ohio. To help in this matter, the National Research Council invited the writer to visit St. Louis and Chicago and give illustrated lectures to aid the project, and I am gratified to learn that Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa and Michigan have made some progress in this matter. Wisconsin has been mapping her antiquities for some years.

"At a meeting of the museum committee in August, the Director placed before the committee tentative plans for the future development of a greater Ohio Museum.

"A museum to grow and send broadcast its educational advantages must have the unanimous support of the Society and its Board of Trustees and at the same time be well established in the confidence and esteem of the people of the state. This can only be done by presenting to the people who visit the museum truthful and interesting information about all the processes of nature which bear directly or indirectly on the welfare of man, and I doubt very much if there is an educational institution that surpasses the museum in its influence so widespread, so eagerly sought and so rapidly extended.

"The museum committee in session in this building, August 18 last, adopted a resolution asking the Society to establish a department of natural history and a department of history.

"The committee felt, after hearing the report of the Director, that the department of natural history should be established because the visitors prefer to visit the basement where the Director has installed a few natural history objects, and the lower rotunda has been prepared and the specimens placed on exhibition and this place seems to attract the most attention of visitors.

"Ohio is one of the states rich in prehistoric remains of the mastodon, mammoth, peccary, giant beaver, megalonyx and other extinct animals and it is our duty to secure their remains before it becomes too late. I do not advocate the collecting of birds and animals from other countries but the collecting of our native birds and animals and mounting them in their natural environment.

"To establish this department and place it upon a museum standard will require the services of a trained curator.

"The department of history is certainly one of the most interesting in the museum, especially to students of history, and would comprise the collection of relics of the early Moravian missions in Ohio, objects pertaining to the early pioneer life, battlefields of Ohio, early steam boat days, stage coach days, etc., etc., in fact, every historical object relating to the early settlement and history of the state. This department, like that of natural history, would require a trained man as curator.

"Another important position is that of registrar and chief clerk to the Director, whose duties would be to record and catalog the accessions as they come to the museum. This work is now being done by the curator of archæology during his spare time, which time should be devoted to the department of archæology.

"Another important position needed with our expansion is a cabinet man whose duties would be to construct all cases used in displaying specimens and assist in any new construction about the building.

"The museum committee after reviewing the plans set forth by the Director offered a resolution that the Trustees use their influence to secure sufficient funds to complete the Museum and Library building by additions that will conform to the original quadrangular plans. When the building is completed in whole or in part I am rejoiced to know that the museum committee stands ready to aid in any project that will advance the museum's interest.

#### THE ITINERARY OF THE DIRECTOR.

"Since the last annual meeting the Director has made journeys as representative of the Society as follows:

"October, 1921 Visit to Big Bottom Park to examine improvements made there.

"October, 1921. Visit to Marietta in connection with improvement of Campus Martius.

"December, 1921. Newark. Spoke on Mound Builders before Kiwanis Club.

"January and February, 1922. Spoke on the Ohio Mound Builders before many Clubs and societies in Columbus.

"March, 1922. Visited Spiegel Grove, meeting Spiegel Grove Committee.

"April, 1922. Newark. Spoke before Woman's Club on Ohio Mound Builders.

"May, 1922, Visited Eaton, Ohio, to confer with members of the Preble County Historical Society with reference to the securing of Fort St. Clair.



Rochester, New York, address on Ohio Mounds before the New York State Archæological Association.

Attended the American Association of Museums at Buffalo, New York.

"June, 1922.

Visited Fort Amanda in conference with Chairman Sherman with reference to the purchase of additional ground to be added to Fort Amanda Park.

Visited Fort Laurens in conference with Chairman Curry and the committee in reference to improvement at the Fort.

Visited Camp Sherman in conference with Chairman Spetnagel in reference to proposed Mound City Park. Visited Flint Ridge to examine property with a view to securing same for a public park.

"July, 1922.

Visited Logan Elm Park for the purpose of examining the elm.

Visited the exploration camp of Mr. Shetrone in conference with reference to the work in the field.

Visited the Marion Centennial, collecting data, etc. of that event.

Visited New Philadelphia to attend and speak at the 150th anniversary of the founding of Schoenbrunn.

Visited Fort Laurens in conference with committee on improvement being made at this place.

#### REPAIR AND IMPROVEMENT IN THE MUSEUM.

"Within the year the rotunda has been painted and repaired and the roof thoroughly examined and repaired. The parapet wall surrounding the roof was repointed and the walls made as nearly waterproof as possible and all this work was done by the superintendent of the building at a minimum of cost for material. Last winter a main water pipe, carrying water to the south end of the building and located under the heavy cement floor of the basement, broke and in time flooded the south basement of the building. The superintendent at once referred to the plans of the building but unfortunately no plans for the water system in the building were made by the architect, but instead plans were submitted by the contractor, approved by the architect and consequently never came into my hands. We fully determined that

no water pipes should be placed under a heavy concrete floor. We remembered that the water pipe supplying the south end of the building left the main water pipe under the floor of the dark room. The superintendent of the building found the pipe and the repair was made by running the pipe-line near the ceiling in the hallway of the south basement. So if any leaks should occur again the leaks can readily be repaired.

"We have a large fan for sending warm air into various rooms of the building, but the radiators furnish the required heat and consequently the fan has never been used. I would suggest that the University authorities be asked to take the fan at a reasonable price and use it in some of their buildings.

"Our one great need is a proper room for meetings and lectures that the members of the society should be enjoying each year, and without doubt the Trustees will provide such a place in one of the new wings. Early in the summer two very important exhibitions were held in the rotunda. One was the Iris Show held in May and the other was the Rose Show held in June. It was estimated that more than five thousand people visited each of these exhibitions.

#### FIELD WORK OF THE SOCIETY.

"During the winter the Director devoted much time to the study of the objects secured in the explorations of the Mound City Group and making his final written report which will appear in the QUARTERLY for October.

"Perhaps no other American prehistoric earthwork has excited so great a degree of interest as the Mound City Group through its partial examination by Squier and Davis in 1846 and the publication of their report in *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley*.

"For many years the Mound City Group and its contents continued to be the highest achievement of the Mound builders and there was in many sections a feeling that the Mound City 'finds' would never be equaled, much less surpassed; but the explorations of the Tremper Mound, on the lower Scioto by this Society, not only duplicated the finest artifacts taken from the Mound City Group, but actually excelled them both as to quality and numbers and furnished information which could be brought intelligibly and logically to bear upon the deductions and conclusions of those early pioneer Ohio explorers.

"The more important of these conclusions were their conviction that the builders of the Mound City Group practiced human sacrifice; that from this practice, they should be in some way rather directly related to the dominant cultures in Mexico

and Central America; that certain basin-like receptacles constructed upon the floors of the mounds were the 'altars' on which the human sacrifices were made; and various minor impressions, such as their belief that the so-called stratified mounds were not used as burial places.

"The final exploration of the Mound City Group of earthworks, by our survey, shows that certain of Squier and Davis conclusions as to the purpose and use of the mounds are, in part or wholly, incorrect. Lack of sufficient evidence, and perhaps faulty interpretation of the evidence available to them, appear to have been the causes for rather far-fetched surmises and statements unsupported by facts.

"In part they state that the builders of the Mound City Group practiced human sacrifice; and that from this custom, they should be in some way related to the great culture group of Mexico and Central America; that certain basin-like receptacles constructed upon the floor of the mounds were altars upon which human sacrifice was made; that the so-called stratified mounds were not places of sepulcher. To these may be added their statement that the sacrificial fires were so intense as to melt copper.

"As to the first of these inferences, it may be stated that the idea of human sacrifice was in no way borne out by our investigations. The sites of the various mounds of the Mouny City Group were found to be similar in every way to that of the Tremper Mound, on the lower Scioto, where the sacred structure, with its crematories and depositories, was used solely for the cremation and burial of the dead, and for the attendant funeral ceremonies and not for human sacrifice.

"As to the question of 'altars' upon which human sacrifice was made, it has been demonstrated once again that these basin-shaped receptacles were merely crematories, used in preparing the dead for burial in what to their builders was the customary manner.

"All of the mound sites of the Mound City Group examined by our survey contained from one to three crematories and all were found devoid of contents beyond scattering charred fragments of human bones and broken artifacts carelessly left within them.

"In Squier and Davis' statement that the stratified mounds contained no burials, it is sufficient to say that in every mound examined our survey found burials. A fine example was No. 7, a highly stratified structure, in which in addition to the sand strata, the mound, at a given height, had been completely sealed over by a layer of puddled clay.

"The supposed fused copper found in Mound No. 8 was not copper but arsenite which fuses at a low temperature; and tests made with fused pieces left in the depository by Squier and Davis proved them to be arsenite.

"I have given you a summary of the work done by the department of Archæology in clearing up the wrong impressions given to the science in past years. The department was not in a position to confirm or deny the statements of Squier and Davis until the opportunity came to secure the mounds and make a complete examination.

"During the present season Mr. H. C. Shetrone, Curator of Archæology, has been carrying forward the field work. In June he examined a mound group and a burial site north of Dublin and found many very interesting specimens. In July he examined the large Ginther Mound north of Chillicothe and not far from the Gartner Mound and village site examined by the Society in 1903 and 1904. He is now at work on the Hope-well Group located near Anderson Station. This will require two seasons' work and I predict splendid finds and much unwritten information from this group.

#### THE VARIOUS PROPERTIES OF THE SOCIETY.

"The museum and library building in Columbus is in very good condition. Our superintendent is constantly on the alert for any defects that may occur in the building and repairs same without delay.

"We are sorely in need of display room. I have felt for several years that the museum was going backward. However, we have been trying to improve our collections on exhibition by substitution, rearrangement, better methods of display and better labeling. I feel that perhaps the labeling is the most important and good-sized type should be used and the label placed where it can be seen. The greatest fault in many of our labels is the use of too small type. It is a waste of time to write and print a label and then place it where it can be read with difficulty.

"I am pleased to report that the attendance during the past year has been the largest in the history of the museum. The people have learned to know that the museum is open 365 days in each year, with the exception of the morning hours of Sunday, and this gives every citizen an opportunity to visit the museum at some time during the year.

"The Board of Trustees authorized a memorial wing to be erected on the north side of the quadrangle and this matter is in the hands of the building committee. Colonel Orton, who is chairman, will report at this meeting.



## THE SPIEGEL GROVE STATE PARK.

"Colonel Webb C. Hayes contributed \$50,000 for a new addition to the Hayes Memorial Library and Museum. Professor J. N. Bradford of the University drew the plans for this new addition.

"On April 27, 1922, at 2:30 P. M., bids were received and Mr. Carl F. Steinle, of Fremont, was the low bidder for the main part of the structure and was awarded the contract at his bid of \$43,901. Arthur W. Smith was low bidder on plumbing and he was awarded contract at his bid of \$5,400, and the electric work was awarded to the Moore-Pero Electric Company at their bid of \$449.50 making a total of \$49,750, the cost of building to be completed October 1, 1922. If everything goes well, I am told, the contract will be completed by that time.

## FORT AMANDA PARK.

"The last Legislature appropriated \$2,900 for the purchase of additional land to accommodate the many visitors to this park. The county surveyor of Auglaize County has made a survey of the property desired and the committee on Fort Amanda Park will soon perfect the purchase. The funds were also sufficient for roads and for fencing where needed and the committee hopes to have the purchase consummated and the improvements finished in a very short time.

## FORT LAURENS PARK.

"The last Legislature appropriated \$3,000 for improvements at Fort Laurens. The committee met at the Fort in June and determined the needs of the Park. It was decided to build a cottage for a caretaker at a cost of \$2,000 and to use the remainder for planting of trees and building of roads. This work is under headway and we hope in due time to have the improvements made and the property placed on a self-sustaining basis.

## CAMPUS MARTIUS.

"A few years ago Miss Nye gave the Society the sum of \$2,000 to build a retaining wall on the Washington Street side of Campus Martius and the committee has been trying to construct a retaining wall ever since the money was given. We had an architect to draw plans but they did not suit Miss Nye and her own ideas were far beyond the money in hand, the committee was not disposed to go beyond this amount, and finally Miss Nye has proposed to pay the extra required. The committee hopes to have the improvement under headway before long.

## BIG BOTTOM PARK.

"This splendid little park is in fine shape. The caretaker has repaired the fences and the entrance to the park and placed a new sign facing the river and railroad with the words 'Big Bottom Park.' The caretaker is rejoiced at the number of people who visit the park each year.

## LOGAN ELM PARK.

"I have visited the park a number of times in recent years and made a trip there in August, after becoming alarmed at the report of a tree surgeon who led me to believe the tree could not survive the summer and that it would require \$1,500 for the operation which he proposed to perform. I have not concerned myself so much since my visit and am satisfied that the chairman of Logan Elm Park will look after the tree when a surgeon is needed.

## MOUND CITY GROUP.

"After exploring this wonderful group, the Society felt that it should become the property of the state and I wish to assure the Society that the committee, through Mr. A. C. Spetnagel, of Chillicothe, as chairman, has been constantly at work trying to have the government turn over about fifty acres for a public park. He was unfortunately detained on account of business arrangements from attending this meeting and making a report. Mr. Spetnagel has carried on a very voluminous correspondence with the War Department and this department now finds that no law will permit the gift of this land to the Society but a revocable license may be issued which would give the Society the right to restore and beautify the grounds to be kept as a free public park.

"I can see no objection to such a license as it gives us the property to have and to hold for park purposes and I fully recommend to the Society the acceptance of the license. An effort should be made to induce the Legislature to appropriate funds for its restoration and maintenance.

## MIAMISBURG MOUND.

"As far as I have been able to learn, Mr. Kettering has not yet finished the landscape work on this property but when finished it will perhaps be one of our most beautiful parks.

"No special improvements have been made at Serpent Mound Park and Fort Ancient Park and the reports of the various chairmen will cover them sufficiently.

"I wish to thank the officers and the Board of Trustees,

especially the Secretary, for their courtesy and good will in aiding to lay the foundation of a great educational institution for the benefit of all the people of the state.

On motion of Dr. W. O. Thompson the report was accepted and ordered printed.

Dr. W. O. Thompson stated that there is a large and growing field for the Society in the growing communities of the state and that taking advantage of this opportunity will mean hard and constant work. He suggested that the Society have a well defined plan of action in this matter. Local historical societies will co-operate with us and we should use them in developing an interest in archæology and local history throughout the state. He advised cooperation between the museum and library and similar agencies in the University and the city of Columbus. Dr. Thompson said he would call a meeting in the near future of the committee on historical societies of which he is chairman.

#### ELECTION OF TRUSTEES.

The committee appointed to nominate candidates for trustees to serve for three years reported the names of Daniel J. Ryan, Columbus, Francis W. Treadway, Cleveland, and Arthur C. Johnson, Columbus, who were duly elected.

Professor B. F. Prince read the following report on

#### FORT ANCIENT AND WARREN COUNTY SERPENT MOUND

"Your Committee on Fort Ancient and Warren County Serpent Mound made visits to these places at different times during the year.

"The inside of the walls of Fort Ancient have been cleared, by the custodian, of all growth of young timber, and the general appearance of the fort is good; only a small portion of the inside fort is under cultivation. It is the policy of the custodian to keep

the fields in grass as long as weeds do not spring up to choke out the grass.

"Within the year the following repairs on the property have been made: renewal of the floor of the Shelter house; repair of roads with gravel; construction of cement platform around the well; purchase of new pump and screen wire, and the building of a small section of fence. All this was done at an expense of \$318.

"It has been twenty-five or thirty years since a substantial fence was placed around the fort. It has now gone to pieces, and will no longer turn the stock of the neighboring farmers. Many of them have the notion that they are not compelled to join in making a line fence around the state property, hence their cattle are free to trespass whenever they choose.

"If the state wishes to protect its own property, it must practically build three and a half or four miles of fence.

"In some way the importance of caring for Fort Ancient property must be impressed upon our State Legislature, and a sufficient amount of funds must be provided for this purpose.

"In April last, Dr. Dunham and I extended our visit to the Warren County Serpent Mound. We found that the field into which the mound extends was newly plowed. Of course each successive year of cultivation further destroys the surface appearance, in fact much of the mound, where cultivated, can only be traced by the discoloration of the soil. The part that lies in the woods-pasture is almost perfect in form. If the Society is ever to get control of this mound it should get it now, and restore its form. Its contour is so different from that of Serpent Mound of Adams County, that it would show a striking contrast in Serpent Mound building.

(Signed) B. F. PRINCE,  
JOHN M. DUNHAM."

After reading his report, which on motion was duly received, Dr. Prince stated that Dr. Dunham who was present had visited the Serpent Mound of Warren County and was prepared to make a statement. Dr. Dunham said that he thought the mound with ten acres of adjacent ground could be purchased at from seven to eight hundred dollars and advised prompt action in taking advantage of this offer if the state is to acquire this interesting site.



On motion of Dr. Thompson the committee was directed to get an option on the land.

Colonel W. L. Curry then read the following report of the committee on

#### FORT LAURENS.

"The Committee on Fort Laurens respectfully submit their report as follows:

"An appropriation of three thousand dollars having been made by the State Legislature for the improvement of Fort Laurens, after consultation it was decided to visit the location before making any movement toward the improvement. All members of the Committee, accompanied by Director Mills, visited the fort, where we were met by Hon. Oscar M. Hines, representing Tuscarawas county in the legislature, and a delegation of prominent citizens, all of whom are interested in the proposed improvement.

"After a careful examination of the grounds, composed of twenty-eight and a fraction acres, bounded on the east by the Tuscarawas river and on the west by a fine public highway, with a beautiful mound located at one end of the tract, a conference was held by members of the Committee and the citizen's delegation with a general discussion as to the best plans for expending the appropriation.

"It was the consensus of opinion that trees should be planted to beautify the grounds along the lines of the Fort near the banks of the Tuscarawas river, which was surveyed and marked in the year 1850, when some of the earthworks were still extant; that a house should be constructed for a caretaker, and a roadway should be built around the grounds passing the site of the Fort, and the Mound where it is hoped a monument may be erected at some time in the future to mark this important historic spot.

"A spring just outside of the Fort supplied the soldiers with water during the siege in the winter of 1778-1779, and the citizens have already constructed a basin for this water that is running out of the ground near the entrance to the Fort.

"There was a full and free exchange of opinions and a sub-committee composed of Director W. C. Mills and W. L. Curry was appointed who were authorized to have plans prepared along the lines agreed upon and proceed with the improvements. Some of the plans have been submitted to contractors and it is hoped that satisfactory bids will soon be received and that work will commence at an early date.

"This was the first Fort erected west of the Ohio river during the war of the Revolution. Located in the beautiful Tuscarawas valley, when the improvements are made it will be a very attractive point for tourists.

(Signed) W. L. CURRY,  
*Chairman."*

The report was received and ordered printed.

Mr. Wood called attention to the fact that the \$3000 appropriated by the Legislature for the improvement of Fort Laurens will lapse June 30, 1923. Col. Curry stated that the committee would have the improvements completed before that date.

Secretary Galbreath read the report of the Committee on

#### FORT MIAMI, FORT MEIGS, FORT AMANDA AND THE BATTLE OF FALLEN TIMBERS.

"The principal activities of your Committee during the past year have been along the lines of developing local interest in the historic spots of Northwestern Ohio.

"In cooperation with the Maumee Valley Pioneer and Historical Society, the Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio and the Sons of the American Revolution, the 128th Anniversary of the Battle of Fallen Timbers, was commemorated in an appropriate and impressive manner.

"An historical pilgrimage was undertaken by a large delegation of members and citizens to Fort Miami, the scene of Dudley's massacre, the Battle Field of Fallen Timbers, Fort Deposit, Roch de Boeuf and Fort Meigs.

"The stories of Wayne's and Harrison's campaigns were retold in an interesting manner by capable speakers from Toledo and vicinity and the pilgrimage was thoroughly enjoyed by all who were privileged to participate.

"Your Committee again desires to bring to the attention of the State Society the rapid passing of the seven (7) year period during which the monument marking the Battle Field of Fallen Timbers and commemorating the achievements of Mad Anthony Wayne must be erected or the land, deeded gratuitously, must be forfeited.

"May we not have definite action by the Society in this matter at the forthcoming annual meeting?

"Following the enlargement of the field of activities of your committee to include Fort Amanda, Director Mills and the writer visited that historic spot and while there arranged for the resurvey and correct mapping of the grounds now owned by the state and of the tract of land adjoining, which under act of the Legislature is to be acquired; also for certain inexpensive road improvements to be undertaken in the near future.

"In the Military Cemetery at Fort Amanda we noticed the grave of Peter Sunderland, a Revolutionary soldier who fought at Bunker Hill.

"Accompanying this report are photographs taken by the writer at Fort Amanda.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) W. J. SHERMAN,  
*Chairman."*

The report was ordered received and published.

Colonel Webb C. Hayes read the following report of the Committee on

#### SPIEGEL GROVE STATE PARK.

"The Spiegel Grove State Park and properties held for the benefit of the Society (with the exception of the Library and Museum Annex now under construction and in charge of the Special Spiegel Grove Building Committee, who will report) are in better condition than ever before. The county commissioners have paved the McKinley Memorial Highway, and the city of Fremont has laid the six-inch water line for fire purposes required for state buildings, and expect to hereafter furnish free water for the Library and Memorial building.

"Three split boulder gateways, the 'Croghan,' the 'Memorial,' and the 'Cleveland' gateways have been erected at a cost of \$2,500, which with the two Rodman cannon gateways, the 'Harrison' and 'McPherson' Gateways, presented by the War Department several years ago, constitute the five Memorial Gateways (each with an historical tablet thereon) in which it was desired to erect the five double iron gates, the White House gates, so called, from West Executive Avenue, Washington, D. C., for which authority is asked in a bill now in Congress to furnish the Spiegel Grove State Park.

"All the buildings have been put in first class condition for the Centenary Celebration of October 4th. The residence and caretaker's house have been repainted and a new roof put on the Hayes Memorial Building through funds provided by the

Emergency Board to protect the contents from the elements. The Spiegel Grove Building Committee, will undoubtedly report on the present condition of the Library and Museum Annex.

"The county of Sandusky and city of Fremont have responded to every request from the committee for the Society, and it now remains for the Society itself to carry out the further plans.

"We have had increasing crowds of visitors to the Memorial and State Park, but regret the fact that but one Trustee and one officer of the Society have visited — but once each — the Society's property since our last annual meeting.

(Signed) WEBB C. HAYES,  
*Chairman."*

The report was ordered received and published.

Mr. Frank Tallmadge read the following report of the Committee on

#### LOGAN ELM PARK.

"The visitors are still increasing in numbers, and apparently in interest taken. The little park is ideal for picnics, large or small. The barricade is proving most successful, as it keeps the automobiles at a distance, without interfering with those who come for study of nature or to learn the historical facts.

"There have been two attempts made by representatives of a Tree Surgery Company to "save the life of the Logan Elm," as they express it in and out of print. At the same time compliments have been given us by these parties for the way the limbs have been cabled. One estimate for repairs has been given us at \$1,500 and another at \$2,000. While we are not prepared to give an opinion, except in a non-professional way, it occurs to us that the limbs are so large and hard to hold up in their present condition cementing of the cavities would only add to the weight. The experts desire to excavate the trunk to the extent that will enable two men to stand erect therein, and thereafter fill with cement, a procedure that would leave not much more than the bark. We have hardly sufficient funds at command now to remove the fungi in the trunk, which we regard as imperative, and to paint or tar all open cavities. We recommend this to be done, also the cultivation of the off shoots from the tree now in an adjoining field which is in grass but is soon to be plowed under, by removal this fall of the same to our land. This should be done by a so-called nursery man, who will know to start a large family of little Logan Elms. The placing of tile



upright, so as to add moisture and supply fertilizer to the unexposed and growing roots, is also recommended.

"For all the purposes stated we ask an appropriation of \$400. \$40 only now being available.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) FRANK TALLMADGE."

Mr. Booth drew attention to the fact that previous recommendations of the committee on the Logan Elm had not been acted upon.

President Campbell stated that before the desired improvements could be made it would be necessary to get an adequate appropriation from the General Assembly which he thought could be done if the matter were properly presented.

Mrs. Dr. Howard Jones extended an invitation to the Society to be present at the celebration of the anniversary of the dedication of the Logan Elm at Logan Elm Park October 2. On motion of Mr. Wood the invitation was accepted.

Colonel Orton then read the reports of the Committee on the World War Memorial Building and the Addition to the Hayes Memorial Building, as follows:

#### REPORT OF THE BUILDING COMMITTEE FOR THE WORLD WAR MEMORIAL BUILDING.

"To the Archæological and Historical Society:

"Gentlemen: By resolution adopted October 18, 1921, it was provided that the Society would take immediate steps with funds now in their possession to begin the erection of a World War Memorial Annex to the Society's Building, in memory of the Soldiers, Sailors and Marines of Ohio who served in the World War; the object and purpose of the building shall be for the preservation of all records, maps, muster rolls, newspapers, relics and all military records connected with the World War, and also all papers and historical matter pertaining to the work of the nurses' organizations and civilian war work of the citizens of the state growing out of the World War.

"President Campbell appointed the following persons members of this committee, and their appointment was reported to the meeting of the Board of Trustees on December 30, 1921, viz.:

Colonel Edward Orton, Jr., Columbus, Ohio, Chairman.  
 Colonel W. C. Hayes, Fremont, Ohio.  
 General S. B. Stansbury, Cincinnati, Ohio.  
 Colonel H. M. Bush, Columbus, Ohio.  
 Mr. Gordon Battelle, Columbus, Ohio.  
 Mr. John G. Deshler, Columbus, Ohio.  
 Captain W. I. Vorys, Columbus, Ohio.  
 Captain E. R. Magruder, Columbus, Ohio.  
 Major Nelson Talbot, Dayton, Ohio.  
 Lieutenant-Colonel George C. Schaefer, Columbus, Ohio.  
 Mr. Ben J. Throop, Columbus, Ohio.  
 Mr. George F. Bareis, Canal Winchester, Ohio.  
 General George Florence, Circleville, Ohio.  
 General C. B. Baker, Columbus, Ohio.  
 Lieutenant-Colonel Frank A. Hunter, Columbus, Ohio.  
 Major Walter Jeffrey, Columbus, Ohio.  
 Mr. Beman G. Dawes, Columbus, Ohio.  
 Mr. Vernon M. Riegel, Columbus, Ohio.  
 Mr. Frank Packard, Columbus, Ohio.  
 Colonel Simeon Nash, Columbus, Ohio.  
 Governor James E. Campbell, }  
 Director W. C. Mills, } *Ex officio.*  
 Secretary C. B. Galbreath. }

"This committee met and organized January 12, 1922, with fifteen members present. Colonel Nash was made Secretary of the Committee.

"Inasmuch as there had been a tacit understanding from the beginning that for reasons of convenience of administration, involving of upkeep and economy of construction, the World War Memorial should be a wing added to the present headquarters building of the Society, rather than a separate structure, it was deemed proper and advisable to consult the same architect who had designed the original building.

"Also, in view of the fact that this building was on the University Campus, and heated, lighted, etc., from the University plant and that it really constituted a part of the University group of buildings and should therefore be designed with due regard to the places for the development of the University buildings on the Campus, it seemed proper to consult the University architect. It happening that Professor J. N. Bradford filled both

qualifications, his selection as architect was formally made and approved.

"The original plan for the development of the Archæological and Historical Society Building, around a hollow square was produced and discussed.

"An executive committee of five was then authorized to take up actively the preparation of plans and drawings, for work not to cost in excess of the amount available, with instructions to report back from time to time.

"The Chairman appointed W. C. Mills, C. B. Galbreath, Frank L. Packard, H. M. Bush, F. A. Hunter and himself and the secretary, Colonel Nash, *ex officio*.

"This committee met first on January 16, 1922, and after careful study made a fundamental change in the original plans made in 1914, for extension by excluding a central Library building from the central court. They decided the new building should constitute the north wing of the developed Archæological and Historical Building and determined approximately upon its dimensions.

"It also agreed that the memorial features of the new building should be worked out for the north steps and entrance to the building. Subsequent meetings were held February 2 and March 16, in which the floor plans and details of the building were agreed to, the outside dimensions to be approximately 132 feet by 50 feet. A central room, opposite the front steps, and entrance, with approximate dimensions of 32 by 50 feet was agreed upon to be developed as a Memorial Room. Rooms on either side would be reserved for exhibits, but the center room, opening in from a formal entrance, would be in itself a Memorial rather than for the exhibition of other things.

"It was also agreed that the services of a sculptor be secured to collaborate with the architect for suitable statuary or other decorations on the steps and entrance. Mr. Bruce Saville was secured upon a voluntary cooperative basis, to assist in the planning, with the understanding that when the work of execution was taken up, he would be considered in modelling and producing the bronze or other sculptural parts.

"The architect and sculptor then proceeded with the further studies on the building and produced drawings, sculptural studies and models for two alternative treatments of the facade of the building. After prolonged discussion, one alternative was selected by the committee and the architect requested to develop it.

"A considerable delay then ensued, principally because of the congestion of the University building program which made it impossible to give the Archæological and Historical Building the attention desired.

"In June, this congestion was somewhat relieved and the work began on the plans again. The adjustment of the plan selected by the Executive Committee for development with the other plans of the University Architect for the treatment of the whole Fifteenth Ave. entrance to the University,—involving similar facades on the buildings on either side of the street—occasioned some trouble. The architect drew and redrew plans to meet the Committee's wishes, without damaging the larger plans of which they were a part. An agreeable compromise was finally worked out, and has been fully developed.

"It was found at an early date that the funds available to construct such a wing as the symmetry of the present building of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society required, would run into a much larger sum than is available. The committee reported its plans, as far as then developed, to the Board of Trustees at a meeting held May 8, 1922, and then directed that the Committee should proceed with the plan, but let contract for only so much of the building as could be paid for with present resources.

"The architect then made complete plans and specifications for the building of the shell of the basement and first story of the projected building, providing temporary roof over the floor of the second story.

"On May 8, the Board of Trustees adopted a resolution authorizing more explicitly than heretofore, the committee to make contracts.

*'Resolved.* That the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society hereby approves and ratifies the action of the Memorial Building Committee to date in securing tentative plans and preliminary estimates for beginning the erection of a wing to the Museum and Library Building of the Society on the grounds of the Ohio State University and that said committee is hereby authorized, empowered and directed to continue its work, to investigate how far the construction of the proposed wing can be carried with the funds in the possession of the Society and now available for this purpose, to enter into contract, not to exceed the aggregate of such funds, for the construction of this improvement, to sign all contracts necessary to carry on this work, to issue all orders on the treasurer in payment for same as the work progresses and to do whatever is necessary to carry out in letter and spirit the purpose of the resolution adopted at the meeting of the Board of Trustees October 12, 1921, which provided "That immediate steps be taken with the funds now in the possession of the Society to begin the erection of a World War Memorial Annex to the Society building in memory of the sol-



diers of Ohio who served in the World War," also a similar resolution adopted October 18, 1921.'

"The approval of the State Architect has been secured to this partial construction.

"Bids for the erection of this building are being opened at 10:00 A. M. today.

"Plans for the completed building, and for that portion to be built at once are submitted for the inspection of the Society.

"Studies for the proposed sculptural features of the front of this new building are submitted by Mr. Saville. The committee has not passed upon these as yet. No front steps or statuary will be constructed out of the funds now available. It is expected by the committee, that the Society will memorialize the next General Assembly for funds to complete the building and provide the necessary bronze statuary for the front steps and memorial room. Sufficiently detailed studies of this will be available to show the Legislative Committee at that time.

"The committee desires to thank the University authorities for their cooperation in the work so far engaged in, and also to thank Mr. Saville for his voluntary assistance to date, rendered at a time when he knew there could be no immediate return for the same.

"If no untoward events interfere, it is hoped that the construction of the present contract will be well along towards completion this year. If the railroad strike prevents shipment of materials, it may be impossible to make even a beginning.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) EDWARD ORTON, JR.,  
*Chairman."*

#### REPORT OF THE BUILDING COMMITTEE FOR THE LIBRARY AND STACK-ROOM ADDITION TO THE HAYES MEMORIAL BUILDING, SPIEGEL GROVE STATE PARK, FREMONT, OHIO

"This committee was appointed March 1, 1922, by President James E. Campbell with the following personnel:

Colonel Edward Orton, Jr., Columbus, Ohio, Chairman,  
Colonel Webb C. Hayes, Fremont, Ohio  
Irvin F. Fangboner, Fremont, Ohio  
Frank L. Packard, Columbus, Ohio  
W. J. Sherman, Toledo, Ohio.  
F. W. Treadway, Cleveland, Ohio.  
Director W. C. Mills, Columbus, Ohio, Secretary.

"The first meeting of this committee was held at Spiegel Grove, Fremont, Ohio, on Sunday, March 26, 1922. A quorum of the Committee was present.

"It transpired that the architect of the State Archæological and Historical Society building in Columbus, Mr. Joseph N. Bradford, had been employed for sometime prior to the appointment of this Committee under the authority presumably given by the President, preparing plans for the proposed Library and Stack-room Annex. In his work he was doubtless assisted by Colonel Hayes and he had at his disposal the plans of the original building, which was put up in 1915-16. Mr. Bradford was present at this meeting and showed the practically completed plan for the proposed annex. He said that he desired to spend the balance of the day in further checking up his plans by actual measurements made on the existing building, which might or might not be in accurate accordance with the drawings for it which had been furnished him.

"The Committee, after going over Mr. Bradford's plan, accepted it in principle, and passed a resolution authorizing the Chairman and Secretary of the Committee to approve this plan and to sign contracts in behalf of the Building Committee when satisfactory bids had been received.

"The committee found that Colonel Hayes had executed two deeds of trust for the purpose of providing funds for the construction of this Library and Stack-room Annex. The first for the sum of twenty-five thousand (\$25,000) dollars and the latter bringing the amount up to forty-five thousand (\$45,000) dollars. At the present meeting Colonel Hayes stated to the committee that he was now adding five thousand (\$5,000) dollars additional, making the total up to fifty thousand (\$50,000) dollars, which would be available by October 1, 1922, and under the terms of the deed of trust would be paid over on proper orders by the Union Trust Company of Cleveland, Ohio.

"Architect Bradford having completed the checking of his plans brought them to Columbus and a few days later notified the chairman and secretary that they were complete and ready for signature. These plans were then signed and advertised for bids. On April 27 bids were received and opened, and Mr. Carl F. Steinle of Fremont, Ohio, who had built the original building, was found to be the lowest bidder in the sum of \$34,901 for the main building contract. Subsidiary contracts for the heating, plumbing and for the electrical work were not ready at that time and no bids were received.

"The chairman and secretary then signed the contract with Mr. Steinle.

"This contract was subsequently questioned by Mr. Steinle's attorney on the ground that a proper resolution by the Board of Trustees granting authority to the Building Committee to proceed with this work had not been passed. This criticism appeared valid and a special meeting of the Board of Trustees was called May 8, 1922, at which the following resolution was adopted:

*'Resolved,* That the various actions to date of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society and its committees relating to the formation of a Spiegel Grove Park Committee, a Spiegel Grove Building Fund, and a Spiegel Grove Building Committee be collected, co-ordinated and brought before the Society at a subsequent meeting for final approval, to the end that the full power, authority and responsibility of the Society shall be brought to the support of said committees and that the improvement at the Spiegel Grove State Park may speedily be completed.'

"Subsequent to this meeting investigations were made as to the conditions laid down in the two trust agreements made by Colonel Webb C. Hayes and Mary Miller Hayes under which the fund for the execution of this project had been provided. It was found that the terms of this agreement needed modification in order that the Society should have full legal power to pay the bills for the work when it incurred obligations by entering into the contract for the construction of the building. Colonel Hayes adjusted this matter by executing a new memorandum order with the Union Trust Company at Cleveland, directing them to pay all bills upon the orders of the Treasurer of the Society, thus centering responsibility and power in one and the same source. At the meeting of June 3, 1922, this document signed by Colonel Hayes was presented and placed on file and the following resolution was then adopted giving the necessary sanction of the Board of Trustees to the committee to contract and erect the building:

*'Be It Resolved:* That the Spiegel Grove Committee is hereby authorized and empowered to proceed with the work in accordance with the plans and specifications and to enter into supplemental contracts for the said library stack-room addition and to sign all contracts necessary to carry this work to completion, and to issue all orders necessary for the payment of these improvements as the work progresses, said payments to be made in accordance with the contract prepared by the committee and the letter of Col. Webb C. Hayes to the Union Trust Company, under date of June 3, 1922, which will be spread upon the minutes and be made a part hereof.'

"These various provisions were conducted without delay to the work itself. Additional contracts for the heating, plumbing and electrical work were then entered into, bringing the total expenditures of the Society up to \$49,750.

"This work has been in active progress since about May 1, 1922. Delays due to getting the proper materials, and especially due to transportation troubles, and, in the spring, to very wet weather have delayed the progress considerably. The contract provides for the completion of the building October 1. It does not now seem possible for the contractor to secure the necessary materials and complete it by that date. It will, however, be so far advanced as to permit the dedication exercises to take place October 4, 1922, on the centenary of President Hayes' birth. It is not believed that the contract can be held for delays which, aside from the weather, are due to the disjointed condition of the times and not to any personal failure on his part.

"The balance of the funds not covered by existing contracts amounts to \$250 and is not sufficient to cover the extras which are certain to arise in the construction of any building, but which are happily thus far quite small in the present instance, and also to cover the architect's fees. It will be necessary for the Society to provide some additional funds not now accurately estimated, to cover this additional cost. It is thought that \$2,000 will cover these various amounts, not including repairs and adjustments to the old building, for which a special allotment has been secured from the State Emergency Board to the amount of nearly \$3,000.

"No provisions have yet been made to cover the cost of furnishing and equipping the Library and Stack-room Annex, or the memorial gateways and other projects at Spiegel Grove State Park which have been mentioned as a part of the objects of the trust fund created by Colonel Webb C. Hayes and Mary Miller Hayes, but have not been included in the present scope of this Building Committee's powers. Since the entire amount of the trust fund and more will have been expended on the construction of this building itself with the knowledge and concurrence of Colonel Hayes, it is not believed that the Society is responsible in a legal sense for the execution of the other projects mentioned in the deed of trust, and for which sufficient funds are not available.

"The committee recommends that the Society thru its Board of Trustees shall provide funds to the amount of \$2,000 to cover architect's fees and other incidentals necessary to the satisfactory completion of the present building contract.

Respectfully submitted,

EDWARD ORTON, JR.,  
*Chairman."*



Mr. Galbreath moved that the two reports just read by Colonel Orton be received, placed on file and published in the *QUARTERLY*. Seconded and carried.

Mr. Fred J. Heer asked if the recommendations of the Committee should not be considered, but Chairman Campbell stated that there is now no way to raise the extra money needed.

Mr. George F. Bareis read the following report of the

#### MUSEUM COMMITTEE

"The Museum Committee met in August and after going over conditions in the Museum, we are more than ever impressed with the lack of room for caring for the great mass of the most precious and rare material for which there is scarcely storage room.

"Director Mills and Curator Shetrone are securing wonderful specimens from the Hopewell Group of Mounds and from the Village Sites. By the way, Director Mills is a pioneer in exploring village sites and the large number of unique specimens that illustrate the life of the ancient inhabitants of Ohio is attracting the attention of many of the other States who are soliciting Director Mills for assistance and advice. We learn that about 10,000 persons visited Museum during the year. Many school children come with their teachers and after looking at certain groups of specimens, are assigned a theme for an essay.

"We are impressed with the large number of gifts that come to the museum every year. The gifts to the museum as well as those to the library exceed in value the legislature's appropriation, showing that the Society is an asset, not a liability, to the state.

"We were impressed with the economical management of the Society's affairs, especially that a Board of Trustees, without money consideration give such fine volunteer service; this is a hopeful sign, since one of the fundamentals of our civilization is based on the free volunteer service of talent and ability.

"Our Committee adopted the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the Museum Committee appeal to the Society to establish a Department of Natural History and a Department of History and that the Society actively push the erection, not only of the World War

Wing to this building, but also the West and South wings, thus completing our Museum Building according to the original plans.'

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) GEORGE F. BAREIS,  
*Chairman of Museum Committee."*

The report was accepted and placed on file.

Colonel Orton heartily indorsed the report and urged that steps be taken to extend the museum exhibits. In his opinion the Society should make use of the scientific knowledge acquired by Dr. Mills touching all questions of Ohio archæology. He referred to the exhibits at the National Museum in Washington where large numbers of figures life size representing the different tribes of Indians are shown. The knowledge of Dr. Mills should be used in the preparation of similar exhibits illustrating the Indian and mound builder of Ohio. He suggested that the services of the sculptor, Professor Bruce W. Saville, might be had to put into concrete form the knowledge acquired by Dr. Mills and his assistants in the exploration of the Indian mounds.

On motion of Colonel Orton the committee on museum was requested to confer with the University trustees or their representatives with a view to co-operation.

#### MOUND CITY GROUP

In the temporary absence of the chairman, Mr. Spetnagel, Dr. Mills reported that the War Department at Washington had offered to transfer about seventy acres of land at Camp Sherman for restoration and park purposes by revocable license. On motion of Dr. Mills the offer of the War Department was accepted.

The report of the Committee on Serpent Mound was

read by Secretary Galbreath, the Chairman of the Committee being unavoidably absent.

### SERPENT MOUND

"Your Committee in charge of Serpent Mound Park beg leave to submit the following annual report:

"The general conditions at the Park have been good. During the early part of the year a wind storm of some violence passed over the Park damaging the roof of one of the buildings, which required some repairs that the Custodian was able to make, with a supply of some material.

"Within the year the buildings have received a coat of paint applied by the Custodian, the Committee providing the paint. The barn and fences about the premises have been whitewashed by the Custodian, which has served to give them the appearance and air of thrift to visitors.

"During the year a registration booth has been erected at the entrance to the Effigy. This is a building four feet square and seven feet high, where the book for registration of visitors is securely kept and where visitors can comfortably register. The booth bears the legend:

'Please Register.'

While all visitors do not register, more than seven thousand annually do so. The Custodian estimates that about one-half of the visitors register.

"It has been the policy of the committee to provide inexpensive archæological literature of a reliable character. This is done, believing that this brief literature may awaken a desire for more. The literature is inexpensive and sold at a price sufficient to cover the cost of printing, and without expense to the Society.

"The small archæological museum, installed a few years ago by the Curator, continues to attract the attention of visitors. It occupies a portion of the Shelter House; and additions to it are strongly recommended by your committee, as soon as the Society may feel able to provide the necessary cases. The articles can be readily supplied from the large number of duplicates now stored away in the basement of the parent museum.

"The work of reforesting the Park area is going steadily forward — limited only by the amount of funds available. We are glad to be able to report that nearly all of the trees that have been planted are living and making a satisfactory growth, owing to the care with which they were planted.

"It is the aim of your committee to surround the Effigy enclosure with a privet hedge. Five hundred plants were originally purchased and set out and from time to time cuttings have been made from these and set, until now more than half of the required hedge is growing.

"Your committee is pleased to report that the Custodian Mr. Guy Wallace, is still rendering efficient service at the Park, and is furnishing a home in the cottage at the Park, for his aged mother, the Widow of Daniel Wallace who was with Prof. F. W. Putnam, in the restoration of the Serpent Effigy, excavations and improvements of the Park.

"While the Park affords a pleasant place of call for visitors, the Great Serpent Effigy continues to be the central object of all interested in prehistoric man; and also continues to be a source of profound interest to all archæologists.

Respectfully submitted,

W. H. COLE,

WILLIAM C. MILLS,  
*Committee."*

The report was received and ordered printed.

Chairman Campbell stated that he thought it important that the members of the Society spread the information in regard to the celebration of the centennial of the birth of Rutherford B. Hayes, and requested all present to aid in this work.

On motion of Mr. Wood the Society directed the finance committee to endeavor to secure funds to complete the addition to the Hayes Memorial Building at Spiegel Grove State Park and the Museum and Library Building in Columbus.

#### AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION

To eliminate from the constitution some portions rendered obsolete by previous amendments and to include provision for a Director whose appointment had already been authorized by the trustees of the Society, Secretary Galbreath offered the following resolution:



*Resolved*, That the constitution of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society be amended as follows:

In Article II, Section 2, strike out the words "Executive Committee" wherever they occur and insert in lieu thereof the words "Board of Trustees", making the entire section read as follows:

"Sec. 2. The payment at any one time of twenty-five (\$25.00) dollars to the Society shall constitute the person so paying a life member. Life members shall be exempt from all further dues and shall be entitled to all the privileges of active membership. Any person who shall make a donation to the Society, the value of which shall be determined by the trustees to be not less than twenty-five (\$25.00) dollars, shall be entitled to life membership. Said life membership payments shall constitute a permanent fund to be invested at the discretion of the Board of Trustees. The income only of this fund is to be used by the Society for such purposes as the Board of Trustees may direct.

In Article III, Section 1, strike out the following paragraph:

"Provided, the trustees elected prior to the adoption of this amended Section 1 of Article III, shall remain in office during the continuance of the terms for which they were elected."

In Article IV after Section 4 insert the following:

"Sec. 5. Director. It shall be the duty of the Director to devote his entire time, unless otherwise provided by the Trustees, to the general affairs and business of the Society, to the upbuilding of its museum, to the increasing of its membership and general fund, to the extension of its influence, and to the improvement of its service to the people of Ohio in the cause of historical literature and archæological science.

"He shall have full charge of all the physical property of the Society, or property left in its care or custody, except that pertaining to the library.

"He shall be required to nominate for election by the Trustees, a Curator, and likewise maintain at all times an organization of agents or employes necessary to preserve, care for or operate the properties of Society, and to conduct properly its affairs, all subject to the approval of the Trustees. He shall have no jurisdiction over other officers or agents of the Society whose election is provided for, and duties described, by the Constitution of the Society, nor shall he have authority over their subordinates.

"He shall be required to prepare and submit a full report of his Directorship to the annual meetings of the Society, or to the Trustees at stated meetings as the Trustees may demand."

In Article IV, Section 5, change the numeral after the abbreviation "Sec." from "5" to "6".

In Article IV, Section 6, change the numeral after the abbreviation "Sec." from "6" to "7".

In Article VI, Section 1, strike out all after the words "Board of Trustees" to and including the word "Committee."

After a brief discussion the resolution providing for the foregoing amendment was adopted and the constitution as amended was ordered reprinted. The Society then adjourned for the afternoon session.

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

The meeting was called to order by President Campbell. The Secretary stated that a number of letters of regret at inability to be present had been received, among them one from Chief Justice Taft of the United States Supreme Court which read as follows:

"I thank you for your kind invitation to attend the annual meeting of your Society, to be held in the Museum and Library Building, on the grounds of the Ohio State University, Saturday, September 9th. I am very sorry that my engagements prevent my attendance. I note the attractive program that you have arranged, and I regret that I cannot be with you to enjoy it. Please present my warm regards and compliments to the President, Governor Campbell, and believe me,

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM H. TAFT."

The President then announced the first speaker on the afternoon program. In presenting Dr. Edwin Erle Sparks he read from the letter of invitation sent to the members of the Society the following statement:

"Dr. Edwin E. Sparks will deliver the annual address. The Society has been most fortunate in his expressed willingness to be present on this occasion. Dr. Sparks was for a number of years president of Pennsylvania State College. He is

author of a number of books, a historian of national reputation, an Ohioan, a graduate of our State University and a gifted speaker."

Dr. Sparks then delivered a scholarly and inspiring historic address which greatly pleased the audience and brought forth manifestations of appreciation at its conclusion. Dr. Sparks' address will appear in full in the January *QUARTERLY*.

General J. Warren Keifer, the veteran survivor of two wars, former speaker of the national House of Representatives, and recently appointed trustee of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, then told the "story of a flag" and presented the flag to the Society. His address was thrillingly reminiscent of the Civil War and called forth frequent applause. The "story of a flag" appears elsewhere in this issue of the *QUARTERLY*.

Dr. T. C. Mendenhall fortunately was able to be present and spoke briefly supplementing the address of Dr. Sparks. Dr. Mendenhall is at present a trustee of the Ohio State University. A contribution from his pen and a sketch of his life appears in the *QUARTERLY* for October, 1921. What he has to say on any subject and any occasion is always interesting and heard with pleasure. Dr. Mendenhall's remarks will follow the address of Dr. Sparks in the January *QUARTERLY*. He was made an honorary member of the Society by unanimous vote at the meeting of the Board of Trustees.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES  
SOCIETY BUILDING, COLUMBUS, O.

SEPTEMBER 9, 1922.

12 o'clock [noon].

Present: Messers. James E. Campbell, George F. Bareis, B. F. Prince, E. F. Wood, J. Warren Keifer, Edward Orton, Jr., Frank L. Packard, Webb C. Hayes. Director Mills and Secretary Galbreath were also present.

The meeting was called to order by President Campbell.

On motion of Mr. E. F. Wood, President James E. Campbell was reelected President of the Society.

Mr. George F. Bareis and Mr. Daniel J. Ryan were elected First Vice President and Second Vice President, respectively.

On motion of E. F. Wood, Dr. William C. Mills was elected Director.

On motion of Colonel Webb C. Hayes, duly seconded, Mr. C. B. Galbreath was elected Secretary, Editor and Librarian.

Mr. E. F. Wood was elected Treasurer, on motion of Colonel Webb C. Hayes.

On motion of Colonel Orton, Harry C. Shetrone was elected Curator, subject to the confirmation of Director Mills, the latter having stepped from the room.

Mr. Wood: "To expedite matters I move that the various employes of the Society now serving it, be re-elected at their present salaries for the current year." Col. Orton seconded the motion, which was carried.

On motion of Mr. Bareis, Dr. T. C. Mendenhall was elected a life member of the Society.

On motion the meeting adjourned.



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